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THE EARLY ANDHRAS BEFORE THE SATAVAHANAS

(*Prof. P. S. Sastri, M.A.*)

The History of the Andhras before the Śātavāhana empire is shrouded in obscurity; and the attempts so far made to clear the mist are not a success. At the outset we meet with two very important words, *viz.* Telugu and Andhra. Many fanciful etymological explanations have been offered to these words, and in the ignorance of Ancient Indian History they are bound to land us in failure. It is best to presume that the word 'Telugu' is the name of the language, while the term 'Andhra' denotes the name of the race. We have to find out the actual connotation of the word Andhra.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa gives us the earliest known reference. There we find the story of Śunaḥśepa, who has been liberated from a cruel father and a selfish king by the sage Viśvāmitra from the grip of the Gods who are thirsty of human blood. Since the father of the boy is heartless, the seer decided to adopt him as his eldest child. The first fifty sons of the Rishi objected to this, whereupon the holy sage cursed them by saying:

“Tān anu vyājahārāntān vaḥ prajā bhakshisht eti. Ta ete
'ndhrāḥ punḍrāḥ śabarāḥ pulindā mātibā ity udantya
bahavo bhavanti vaiśvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyishthāḥ.”

instance, prescribes that a potter can cook the food for a Brāhman. Again it is the Andhras that welcomed Buddhism, the religion that is a revolt against the Vedic one. The sacred book of the Buddhists called the Addakathā is supposed to have been written in the language of the Andhras according to the writings of Greater India. Nāgārjuna had his headquarters in the heart of the Andhra territory. The Andhras patronised the Pali and Prakrit. Besides, there are certain customs amongst the Andhras, which are condemned both by the northerners and the southerners. For instance, it is a prevalent custom only amongst the Andhras to marry the daughter of one's own mother's brother. In view of the fact that this is found only amongst us we can conclude that this is neither Aryan nor Dravidian, but Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian. As the Andhras came to mix freely with their borderland tribes they incorporated into their fold some of those customs. This is the meaning of Viśvāmitra's curse, if curse it can be called. Hence we can conclude that the Andhras were originally Aryans; but they got themselves mixed up with the Non-Aryan and Non-Dravidian tribes. As a result they fell from the Aryan heights, and hence they are 'andha', their capital being Andhapura.

From the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa period we do not know clearly the history of the Andhras. The Mahābhārata clearly states that the Andhras were a mighty race at the time of that battle. The Rāmāyaṇa ignores us; but it does not matter much, for it is more a Kāvya, which often ignores or at least does not care for the historical details. We know from Matsya Parāṇa when actually the Śatavāhana empire came to the forefront:

“Saptarshayas tathā prāṁśuḥ pradiptenāgni samāḥ sapta
vimsati bhavyānām andhrāṇām tu yathā punaḥ.”
(271—41).

“Saptarshayo makhā yuktāḥ kāle pārikshite śatam
andhrāmse catur vimsā bhavishyanti śatam samāḥ.”
(271—47).

Here it is stated that in the reign of the twenty-seventh Andhra king the Great Bear will commence its rotation once again from

the constellation Maghā; they will complete 2,400 years by the time the Andhras come into power. We have to find out when the Great Bear actually came into the constellation Maghā. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat Samhitā* observes:

“Āsan maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati prithvīm yudhishtīre
nṛpatau

śhaḍ dvika panca dvi yutaḥ śāka kālas tasya rajyasyar
(13—1).

According to Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the Yudhishtira Era began with his death, which took place twenty-five years after Kali began. This falls in 3077 B.C. Varāhamihira states that 2526 years elapsed after Yudhishtira's death when the Śāka commenced his era. As such this Śāka era must begin somewhere in 550 B. C. We know that the ancient Indians called the Persians by the appellation Śakas. In the history of Persia we come across Cyrus, the Great, who, according to Herodotus, destroyed the empire of Medea in 550 B. C., with the help of the Indian army. In this year he started an era after his victory over the western hordes. This Śāka era has been adopted in India too; and all our astronomers refer only to this era whenever they speak of a Śāka era. Hence we can safely rely on the date of Yudhishtira's death as 3077 B.C.; whether it is real or not, we are sure that the Great Bear left Maghā in 3077 B. C. Consequently we arrive at the conclusion that in 377 B. C., the twenty-seventh Andhra king was ruling; and in 677 B.C., the Andhras began their empire-building. This date seems to come into conflict with our accepted notions. But it is a pity that our historians have not yet completely begun to take the Purāṇic accounts seriously. The history of India from the times of the Mauryas needs to be reconstructed on a more sound basis.

Leaving this aside for the time being, let us turn our attention towards the history of the Andhra country prior to the Śātavāhanas. Here our important sources are Guṇādhyā's *Bṛihatkāthā* and some inscriptions at Bhaṭṭiprolu in modern Guntur district. Guṇādhyā flourished at the time of the first Śātavāhana king. He belongs to the Nāga race, and it is with this race that the Śātavāhanas

had many inter-marriages. He tells us an interesting story about the Śātavāhana king. Prior to this monarch there was a king called Dipakarni, who had Śaktimati as his wife. She died of a snake-bite. Later in a dream the king saw God Śiva who informed him:

“Simhādhi rūḍho vipine sapta varshaḥ śiśuḥ sthitaḥ
aputrasya sa te putro bhaviṣhyati varān mama”.

(*Brihatkathāmanjari*, 3. 26).

Since he was childless the God asked him to go to the forest where he will find a boy of seven years on the back of a lion; that child is to be adopted by him as his own son.

Dipakarni accordingly went to the forest and saw the lion. When the lion was not attending to him he took courage and aimed an arrow at it. It at once took the shape of a Yaksha who told him:

“Śāta nāmāsmi yakshaḥ prāg dhanadānucaro vane
munibhiḥ kanyakā kāmī śāptah simhatvam āgataḥ;
simhibhūtvā ca sā kanyā śiśum hariṇa locanam
ajījanad imam kāle matta eva mahā balam”. (3. 30, 31).

That is, the Yaksha called Śāta, was running after a girl in a grove; this was noticed by the sages who could not tolerate it. So they cursed him to become a lion; and the girl accordingly became a lioness. And this boy is their child.

First we have to note that the kings in India and their admirers created for the princes mythological births when they found them to be coming from a low family. The kings and nobles had their pride satisfied in these unreal accounts. As such this story cannot be taken literally. Next we have to note that this Śāta was said to be a servant of Dhanada or Kubera, the lord of wealth.

The word Śāta figures prominently in the names of the Śātavāhanas, who are also called Śātakarnis. Śāta, therefore seems to be a family name. Since they were borne by a Śāta they were called Śātavāhanas. Karni seems to be the dynasty to

which Dipakarṇi belonged. Just as the later Nāgas, who married Śātavāhana girls, took their family names as Śātanāgas or Nāgaśātas, so did this boy and his descendants. His original family name was 'Śāta'. He adopted the family name 'Karṇi' when he became the heir to that throne also.

That the Śātakarṇi originally belonged to Yakshas only proves that his family was fabulously rich on account of trade and other crafts. *Dvātrīṃśatpūṭalikā* states that the Śālivāhanas were the descendants of Brāhmaṇas and Nāgas. Further, an inscription of Asoka's time found at Bhaṭṭiprolu mentions a king called Kubera—Khubiraka or Kubiraka. The Śāta in the story might be the same as this Kubera. This Kubera was ruling over the southern side of Krishṇā, while Dipakarṇi was ruling on the northern side. They must have belonged to the Nāga and Brāhmaṇ communities respectively. Kubera of Bhaṭṭiprolu can be a descendant of the Śāta dynasty, who might be thinking in terms of the unification of these two kingdoms. This was concretely realised when the young boy of seven became the heir to Dipakarṇi and assumed both the surnames. This is the origin of Śātakarṇis or Śātavāhanas. This reveals the existence of a Karṇi dynasty in Andhra country prior to the advent of the Śātavāhanas.

Proper researches into the Purāṇas will reveal some more important information regarding these Karṇi kings. Besides we will be enabled to build up a correct chronology of the Andhras, along with that of the Mauryas.

VEDULLAVALASA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIRA SRI VIŚWAMBARADEVA MAHARAJA

(*G. Ramadas, B. A., Jeypore.*)

The District Judge of Vizagapatam sent, in 1925, a copper-plate document written in Oriya characters to the Government Epigraphist for transliteration and translation. The latter sent the impressions to me for the purpose and the information supplied by me is noted as No. 20 of Appendix A of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1925-26. The date as calculated by me then has been subsequently found incorrect. Now to rectify that mistake I edit it from the impressions that remained with me ever-since.

The charter is written on both sides of a single plate 7·9" x 3·4". In the middle of the left margin is a small hole, perhaps, to hang it with a thread or wire—may be, it might have been held by a ring which is now missing.

The script is Oriya of that period. 'Bh' in *Vibhava* (l. 1.) *Pramādhī* (l. 2.) differ a little. The same letter is used for 'ḍa' in *Baḍa* (l. 4) and for *ja* in *pujari* (l. 5). c. f. *u* and *ḍ* in *denḍaku* (l. 2). c. f. *p* in *patta* (l. 3). *j* in *jangamo* (l. 2) and 'bh' in *bhogo* (l. 5) are similar c. f. 'r' in *Somavāra* (l. 2) and in *Samvatsara* (l. 1) Many are such discrepancies which will be shown in the foot-notes to the text.

The charter records the gift of a land below the sandy tract (bali) belonging to the commander of the *Telunga-māla*-wet land yeilding 8 garse and upland yeilding two garse, total ten garse to the Jangam Premāḍi Puri-ā-ri for performing, according to the (prescribed) ritual, worship (*Pūja*), food-offering (naivēda), enjoyment (*bhoga*), song (*rāga*) in the two temples of the larger and the smaller Mallikarjuna (linga).

Vedullavalasa is a small village 10 miles east of Gajapati-nagaram, a Railway Station on the Vizianagram—Raipur line. Sewell in his Lists of Antiquities, Vol I noted that there was a temple with a copper-plate grant here in this village. The present charter is that one. At a similar distance from Gajapatinagaram, is the

village of Rājēru where ten years ago I saw a copper-plate grant written in Oriya characters. It is yet to be examined. Between these two villages, Vedullavalsa and Rajēru, is the village Perumālla, another historical place. *Śimantini Kalyānam*, a Telugu *Prabandha* by Perumalla Somanādhamantri says that the village of Perumālla was granted as a gift by a Kaṭak-ēndra to Pillalamarri Mallōśvara, an ancestor of the author, and that owing to the residence of the family ever since in that village, their house name became changed to Perumālla.

Who was this Kaṭak-ēndra referred to above? The author of the lyric is said to have been in the court of Pnsapati Timmaraju who lived in Cir. A. D. 1707, and to have been the fifth in generation from Mallesvara, the donee of the village. Allowing fifty years on the average for each generation, Mallesvara must be living in A.D. 1507, the year in the period when Pratapa Rudra Gajapati was ruling over Orissa (Kaṭaka). Pratapa Rudra Gajapati gave lands to Brahmins in several places in his dominions which extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the Pennar in the Nellore District.

The document gives the date in jupiter cyclic year, *Vibhavanāma Samvatsara mithuna Sam di 1 su 10 Somavāre* and it correctly corresponds to A.D. 1688, May 30, Monday. The donor was *Maharājādhiraja-mahārāja Vīra Sri Viswambara Deva mahārāja*. There is no mention of his family or pedigree. But from the sign-manual given at the end of the writing, he appears to be an ancestor of the present Maharajah of Jeypore. From this it cannot be supposed that the modern Jeypore was the residence of the family during the time of this Viswambara Deva Maharaja; for, there is strong evidence that the family were forced in A.D. 1753 to take shelter to the west of the Eastern Ghats and to build the present town of Jeypore. .

I have copies of two other Grants of the same *Mahārāja*. The originals are in the collection of Copper-Plates secured by the Mahārajah of Jeypore who takes great interest in gathering antiquities such as Copper-Plate grants, old coins etc. A museum

of all kinds of specimens, Sylvan, Geological, Ethnological and antiquarian oddities is maintained in a separate building which is open to the public at all times.

One, of these two, records the gift of two villages in the Nandapur gadh for the worship of the Durga of Nandapur. It is dated *Kshaya nāma Sainvatsara, Tula di 20 su 3 mangalavāre* which corresponds to A.D. 1685, October 20, Tuesday. This Durga appears to have been adored by this family of chiefs from the time its founder made Nandapur his chief residence. This deity is considered by the family even now as the protectress of their fortunes; the Maharajah of Jeypore does not sit on the *gadde* on the seventh tithi in Dasara until and unless the holy offering (*Prasādam*, of this goddess is received from Nandapur.

The second document confirms the gift of a land in the village of Madhupada to Nerella Narasimham Bhat for an annual rent of three *Varahas*. This document is dated *Promoda-nāma-Sainvatsara biccha 6 su. 15 guruvaree* A. D. 1690-November 6, Thursday.

The Kechela copper-plate grant of *Rajādhiraja Vira Sri Krishna deva mahārāja* was granted on a date of the Indian calendar which corresponds to A. D. 1698, Sept. 24, Saturday (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI Part I, p. 8ff). It appears, therefore, that Vira Viswambaradeva held sway till A. D. 1698. The records of the East India Company also corroborate this fact.

Francis in his Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, 1916 gives three extracts from the Vizagapatam consultations at the India Office, Dec. 6th 1693.

(1) “*Rangarao, a neighbouring Raja [clearly the Raja of Bobbili] upon clearing a tank in his country found a vast treasure-trove buried in earthen pots with a small ps. of copper in each pot mentioning wt. contained therein and by whom buried by wh. it appeared to belong to the family of the Sumberdes [the Raja of Jeypore] and to be buried by the great-grandfather of the Present Raja, wh. has made a great contest between the neighbouring Rajas and impeded all commerce in these parts; Rangarao claiming it*

because took up in his government and Sumberdeśe asserting a right to it by the copper plates wch specific it to be buried by his ancestors who formerly had the government of those parts.”

(2) “*In 1694 Seer Lascar had his hands full with revolts by the local Rajas among whom the Raja of Potnuru (Potnuru) and Samba Deo [The Raja of Jeypore] were prominent and at length had to condescend to dishonourable terms. The malcontents had made two attempts to plunder the factory at Vizagapatam.....”*

(3) “*In October 1697 Jeypore (Somberdu) and other Rajas again revolted and took and blew the Seer Lascar and the greatest part of the army”.*

From these three extracts, it is evident that Vira Viswambaradeva, the donor of the copper-plate under review was ruling till A. D. 1698.

When did he come to rule over the dominions, then in his sway? Sewell in his Lists, Vol II noted three copper-plate grants (Nos. 39, 153, 201) of a Maharaja Krishnadeva. Nos. 153 and 201 are stated to have been written in Oriya Script and No. 39 is said to have been issued by Lala Krishnadeva. The information supplied in these notes is very meagre.

I tried to secure the originals even through the Government Epigraphist but they could not be found anywhere. So I have to depend on the little information recorded by Sewell.

I saw in 1918 with a friend of mine a copper-plate grant of Lala Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* recording in the cyclic year *Īśvara* ratifying that the land of Krishnarayapuram was made into an *agrahara* for a number of Brahmin families. This Krishnarayapuram is still an *agrahara* in the vicinity of Bobbili and is enjoyed by the descendents of the original dones. I tried to examine the original charter but it is also lost sight of. The year *Īśvara* corresponds to A.D. 1637.

1. Sumberdeo, Sumberdin, Somberdu and Sumba Deo, all refer to Viswambaradeva. ‘the Raja of Jeypore’ in brackets is Francis’ identification. Jeypore did not exist at the time of Viswambaradeva.

No. 39 of the Lists is said to have been dated śaka 1570 which is equivalent to A.D. 1648. The Lala Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* of this charter was the same as the donor of the Krishnarayapuram grant referred to above. *Rājādhirāja maharaja* Sri Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* granted in No. 153 the village Tuḷunu for temple purposes and for supplying food to travellers. In No. 201 the same donor placed the management of the two charities in the hands of one Matamayya. This gift was made in the *cyclic year Śvara* which corresponds to A.D. 1637.

Under Parvatipur, Sewell, in Vol. I, p. 11 of his Lists records a copper-plate dated S.S. 1594 in the possession of Zamondora of Jayakoṭa. I secured this plate and it records the gift by Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* of four villages to Jāmandora in the *cyclic year Parīdhāvi, jyēsthā ba 3, Wednesday, Śaka 1594* = A.D. 1672, June 4, Tuesday (āmānta). Wednesday is wrong.

The donor of all these charters is the same whether he is named Lala Krishnadeva in some, or *Rājādhirāja* in a second and simple Krishnadeva in the last. *Lala* is a dilectical form of *bāla* and the charter mentioning Lala Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* might have been given before the donor attained majority.

In the preamble of *Śimantini Kalyanam*, Perumalla Basavamantri, the uncle of the author is said to have been the minister of Krishnadeva *Maharaja of Nandapur*. It is shown above that the poet lived about A.D. 1707. Allowing an average period of 25 years between the two generations, Basavamantri must have been living in A.D. 1677 *i.e.* in the period of Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* discussed above. It can be safely asserted now that *Rājādhirāja* Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* belonged to the family of Nandapur and that he ruled from A.D. 1637 to A.D. 1677.

Vira Viswambaradeva of the copper-plate under discussion appears to succeed this *Rājādhirāja* Krishnadeva *Mahārāja* from the following evidence.

The *History of Peddapuram State* written by Raya Jagapati Varma in 1915 mentions the Telugu *prabandha* written by Enugu Lakshmana Kavi, the court poet of the same state. This *prabandha*,

Rama Vilāsam gives the history of Vatsavaya Timma Jagapati Raju that enjoyed the state from A.D. 1649—A.D. 1688. This Timma Jagapati Raju is said to have levelled to the ground the Bamani and other forts, defeated Dugaraju and other heroes and forced Viswambara to yield to the conditions of peace favourable to Pusapati; Seetāramachandra Raju, his ally.

Rājulu mecheha Barlā Kōta Sādhinchi Naraharidēvu
durnaya = maḍanche

Gudu-raina Bāvani Kōta-la-galunatti yōdu-Kōta = ntayn
nurvi = galipe

Dugarāju modalaina doralanu bhanginchi Viswambharuni
yuddha Viratu jēse

Daga Pūsapāti Seetārāma bhūpālu = ḍabhinutimpaga Vija-
yambu gānche

Sarasa-malū yavanā = dhiśu = duraga-patini

Gayyamuna gelchi lōka = Khyāti jende

Vatsavāyā = nṣayamunaku Vanne decheche.

Raya nṣpālu Sri Timma rāja-mauḷi ||

Peddapura Samsthāna Charitram.

It is needless to identify the places and persons mentioned in the verse. Dugaraju was the chief of Pāchipenṭa who was the Viceroy (*Dugaraj*) under the Nandapur rulers. Though the whole estate of Pāchipenṭa is lost to the family yet its scions are still called by the title *Dakshina Kavālā Dugaraj*. The chiefs of Pāchipenṭa, Sālur, Mēraṅgi, Kurapam and many others were the vassels bound to the Nandapur chief on feudal tenure. Since Vatsavāya Timma Jagapati Raju ruled till A.D. 1688, the martial relations between him and Vira Viswambara Deva must have been ended before that year. This Viswambara Deva appears to have held sway from A.D. 1677—A.D. 1698.

A record of a Viswambarao is incised on the four sides of a pillar in the Lakshēvara temple in Gujaratipeta of Chipurupalli

Taluk. This epigraph is registered as No. 288 of App. B. of Madras Epigraphical Report, 1923-24. The date corresponds to A.D. 1570. I took the estampages of this inscription and propose to write a paper on it. This Visvambaradeva was an ancestor of the Vira Visvambaradeva of the Veduḷḷavalasa, C.P. We may for convenience call the former Viswambaradeva I and the latter Viswambaradeva II.

At the end of the charter are found some figures and a long line issuing from a loop. The significance of this has already been explained in my commentary on the Kechela Copper-Plate Grant already referred to above. This appears to be the crest of the feudal family established by Kapilesvara Deva Gajapati of Orissa. I propose to devote a paper on the significance of this sign-manual and how it indicates the relationship of the chief that once worked together to protect South Orissa against the incursions of the foreigners.

VEDUḷḷAVALASA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIRA VISWAMBARA DEVA.

TEXT

First Side.

1. Bibhoba nāma Saṁvatsara mithuna sam-di 1 na
2. Śu 10 Sōmavāre Jaṅgamo Prēmabhi-puri-ā-ri de-u-ḍuku
3. Thhillāro Patta [1] Pattā ni[ma] ntō [:-] Beduḷḷa-valasa
gramaro
4. Mahēsa baḍo mallikārjano sāno mallikārjano debe
5. Pūjā naikēda bhaga rāga ku Teḷuṅga-māḷa sēnā-
6. pati boḷi toḷaro dhano bhū-i ga 8 metu g 2. śā/ē

Second Side

7. melō pallamo mistri dasa-gaḷiśā kujē dela-iḥ
8. E bhu-i-re sandhi e (k?) ā [1] e bhū-i saranti māḷa-i-dē-u-du
9. madhya ā-e-kori ghe-ni bada mali űka māḷa sāno malli-
kārjaṇa
10. deba du-i dēvatāṅku tri-sandhyāre pūjā 1 mamara bhōga
rāga

11. ulā ma prakāre lāgi hebāñku (nimarū hō-i me-ka)? rē thhi
bo [1] Sri
12. rājādhi-rāja mahā-raja Vira Sri Viswambaradeva
māghā [॥].
13. rājāñkaro Sanamato (Sign manual.)

Abstract.

The copper-plate grant given to Jagan Premābhi Puriyari on Monday, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight and the 1st day of the (solar month) Scorpio of the (cyclic) year called Vibhava. The conditions of the grant are:—A wet land (yielding) 8 garse and upland of 2 garse total 10 garse-land situated below the sandy tract belonging to the commander of the Telunga-māla, is given to the (lingās) big Mallikārjuna and small Mallikārjuna for the purpose of worship of all kinds in the best way. The produce of this land being collected together, the worship of the bigger Mallikārjuna and the smaller Mallikārjuna must be performed strictly. This is approved by Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Vira Sri Viswambara-deva Mahārāja (sign manual.)

PLATE, FIRST SIDE.

ଦିବ୍ୟ ନାମସମୁଦ୍ଧେୟ ଗୋପାଳମାତା
 ଶ୍ରୀ ଗୋପାଳ ସାବିତ୍ରୀ ମାତା ମୁଖ୍ୟ ସ୍ତୁତି ଅର୍ପଣ କରୁଛି
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PLATE, SECOND SIDE.

ମୋକ୍ଷ କମ୍ପ ମେଧାବତୀ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୀଙ୍କ ଦେବଦାସୀ ॥
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A STUDY OF TELUGU PLACE—NAMES

(Contd. from P. 66 of Vol. XIV, J.A.H.R.S.)

A. S. Thyagaraju, M.A.

[*N. B.*—The First Chapter and Part of the Second Chapter of this Study appeared in Vol. XIV Parts 2, 3 and 4 of this Journal. By a mistake in arrangement Section I of Chapter II was printed in continuation of Section I of Chapter I. The following is Section 3 of Chapter II. *Vide*—P. 49 of J.A.H.R.S. Vol. XIV for the significance of abbreviations used.]

Section 3—The Sub-urb Ending.

The nomenclature of streets, roads, lanes and suburbs is dependent mainly on the complex nature of civil life. We are only too familiar with the names of streets and suburbs that have been called so in memory of some pious benefactor. A study of street names, interesting in itself, can give us no other information except local history. Occasionally, a wave of national enthusiasm passes over the city fathers, who, by a sweep of their pens, throw into the gloom of oblivion once familiar names in favour of modern ones. Such, for example, is Singanna Naidu Park in Madras, the once well-known Loane Square. A similar drastic change is noticed in the history of other places. The establishment of the Irish Free State, resulted in a feverish revival of the old Irish names. Similarly, the Bolshevik regime in Russia has thought it necessary to do away with place-names suggestive of the old Tsarist rule.

The names of suburbs, though interesting in themselves as a separate study, throw light on the development of the common suburban endings and of certain place-name suffixes. The growth of a suburb is in itself proof of the growing prosperity of a town. Humanity must progress and multiply. With the increase of population the limits of the town are extended. But humanity is not satisfied with having one and the same name for the larger town. They must name the extensions by separate names. The reason is obvious. It facilitates the complex machinery of life. It helps to fix places. It is a means of identification. Beyond a certain

limit humanity ceases to recognise oneness in a place. For instance, though the municipal limits of Cocanada are very wide, yet the local people refuse to accept it in their sub-conscious mind. To them the heart of the city alone is Cocanada. A villager living in Elwinpet of Cocanada, will say for example, when he wants to go shopping to the 'town' that he is going to Cocanada. To him the original limits of the city still continue to be the same; he does not recognise any extensions. Suburbs are to him not suburbs but separate villages. The tendency of life is always for division, classification and sorting of details. Thus it happens that the innumerable parts of a city are known to its inhabitants by their respective names.

The growth of a city may take place in two ways. In its expansion it may swallow up existing villages, and retain their original names in itself as the names of suburbs. Such is the case with Madras city. The old and famous villages of Mylapore and Triplicane are now but parts of the city. As late as the beginning of last century, they were referred to as separate villages. So are the distant villages of Egmore, Vepery and Royapuram. Very soon Saidapet and Villivakkam may suffer the same fate. On the other hand, the growing city may absorb into itself waste-lands and christen them. Such are what are known in municipal parlance as "extensions". Gandhinagar in Cocanada, was but a decade ago, a waste sand-heap; to-day it is a populous and growing part of the city. The earliest way of the growth of a town seems to have been by this procedure of annexure. It is possible for us to conceive a small village with a certain defined area. During the course of years as the village expands the adjoining lands are naturally annexed. The new part of the village does not seem to have been given a new and different name in the early times. New, unrelated and inexplicable nomenclature is a tendency of to-day. The new extension still retains the name of the mother village, if we may so term it. But a certain characteristic term is added to it as a suffix. And that term is still used in Telugu as an independent word and means a part or suburb of a village. The term is pettah or peta, as in Sullurpeta, Ramaraopeta etc. The history of the village

name Sullurpeta¹ seems to suggest that extensions were made in the manner detailed above. The early form of the village name was Suralur. The new extension must have been known as Suralurpeta. Then as it happens in many a case the name of the younger and more prosperous suburb, displaces the name of its mother. That Sullurpet could not have been the original name may be deduced from the fact that the original place-name Suralur already has the place-name ending-ur, and peta is clearly a new accretion to it.²

Objection may be raised to a derivation like this. For example, the place Chilakalurpeta, in the Guntur District must have been according to this theory, originally Chilakaluru. It may be suggested by some critics that uru in Chilakaluru ceased to have its ending signification and so a new ending was added. There are examples to be had certainly of this process also. For example, Tippaladevipalli was Tippala-divi in 1438 A. D. (*BNI*, Pt. 3, p. 1208.); Guruvayapalem was Guruvayi-palli in 1638 A.D. (*Ib.* Rapur Tq.); Kommi of 1638 A.D. is to-day Kommipadu or Kompedu (*Ib.*); Yaduralla-uru of 1267 A. D. becomes Eduralla-padu to-day (*Ib.* Darsi Tq.); Santagrama becomes Satuluru. (*RHJ.* Oct. 1930, p. 66.); Bimana-palli becomes Bhimilipatam to day. (*RIM*, Vol. 3, p. 1668, No. 18.). These examples, along with the instance of Sullurpet itself, prove that a place-name ending can be displaced sometimes in favour of another place-name ending. But in very few cases as in the examples quoted, we find a new accretion to the already existing place-name ending. The only examples are Tippala-devi-palli and Sulluru-peta.

But that the extension to a principal village, is known as its "peta", can be illustrated from a number of examples from any List of Villages. For example in the Guntur district, Ongole taluq, Ramakuru is the principal village and Ramakuru-palem is its hamlet. (*LV*, Guntur Dt., Ongole Tq.). So are Koniki and Koniki-palem. (*Ib.*); Paruchuru and Paruchurvari-palem. (*Ib.* Rapatla Tq.); Chilumuru and Chilumuru-lank (*Ib.* Tenali Tq.); Davaluru and Davaluri-palem. (*Ib.*); Ipuru and Ipuru-lanka. (*Ib.*); Peravali and Peravali-palem (*Ib.*); Ghanatasala and Ghanatasala-palem (Kistna Dist. Divi Tq.).

These examples may prove the possibility of a "peta" or extension being known by the name of the mother or principal village, with the addition of a part that has come to mean, a part, a suburb or an extension, such as pēṭa-pālem, palli etc.

Sometimes the Telugu words for size, pedda=big and chinna=small, are used to distinguish the new suburbs from the original village, e.g. Kara, the principal village and its two hamlets, Chinakara and Pedakara. (*LV*, Kistna Dt., Bandar Tq.)

Later in the history of the suburb ending, the prefix ceased to be necessarily the name of the parent village. Probably by that time the term *peta* had acquired its present significance,

1. See under suffix-peta for a fuller discussion of the meaning and origin of this term.

2. *BNI*, Part 3, pp. 1306 ff. Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, Sullurpet Taluq.

namely a part, a suburb. That is why *peta* forms are galore in a large city. For example Cocanada has the following *petas*; Ramarao-peta, Suryarao-peta, Kotta-peta, Frazer-peta, Elwin-peta, Cutcherry-peta etc. In giving these examples we have made a selection to illustrate the diverse prefixes that can be used. Ramarao and Suryarao were local zamindars. Elwin is the name of a European Collector of the district who was responsible for ceding this area to the Adi-Andhras on their being sent out of the old Manchi-nūtula-pēṭa, which is no longer in existence. Cutcherry-peta is the *peta* near the *cutcherry* or Magistrate's office and Kotta-peta is the new *peta*. Another use to which the form *peta* is put is to indicate the different parts and quarters of a city, not necessarily its suburbs. It is well-known that in India, due to the prevalence of the caste system people of different castes, who are after all in principle people who practise different trades and occupations, are assigned particular quarters. These caste quarters are known as *petas*. Thus we have in most Indian villages a Chakali-peta or dhoby quarter, a Mala-peta or out-caste quarter etc.¹

Though *peta* seems to have been the term used in a large number of cases to denote a suburb, it was not however the only term in use. The term *palam* or *pālemu*² is used in some districts, especially to the south of the Telugu country. This term was used in the beginning to indicate military encampments, and as these must have been usually outside villages the term came to be used for outside parts of a village such as divisions, suburbs and out-caste quarters *e.g.* Kapati-palem in Nellore. It may be noted here in passing that both the forms *peta* and *palam* are now-a-days used not only as the suffixes for divisions of a town but also as ordinary place-name endings.

But the old order changeth yielding place to new. What our forbears thought quite appropriate is to-day brushed aside and new and quixotic, (at least from their point of view) is beginning

1. Compare with the place-names Nayudu-peta and its Tamil counterpart Kavaraipettai; also with Kamasali-peta or goldsmith quarter.

2. See under suffix *palem* for a fuller discussion of the meaning and origin of this term.

to be employed more and more. The latest fashion in christening a new extension is to call it a nagar after the person responsible for its origin or after some local or national celebrity. There are more than ways in which Mahatma Gandhi's name will be perpetuated and one of them is the part his name plays in place-names. There is many a Gaudhi-park and Gandhi-chowk. New municipal extensions are called Gandhi-nagars. We have a Theagaroya-nagar in Madras city. A nagar originally meant a king's palace. It afterwards acquired perhaps the significance of a beautiful city for only on that plea can we allow a well-planned, well-paved new extension to be called a nagar. But language progresses and along with it place-name nomenclature. Nagar may soon become an old fossil, deprived of all its original connotation, and may mean only a peta one day.

CHAPTER III.

PLACE-NAME SUFFIXES

Section 1—Introduction.

In the previous chapter we considered briefly the general tendencies of place-name endings, how they are formed and how they developed into fossilised suffixes. In this chapter we shall consider these endings or suffixes in a more detailed manner. We shall try to account for the forms of as many place-name endings as is possible. We cannot go into the history and origin of each individual place-name suffix for there are so many and the majority of them hardly need any explanation.

Place-name endings as we have seen, are, of different kinds. The earliest are verbal derivatives; next we come across adjectival nouns, descriptive of the topography of the places concerned. Still more recent in the scale of naming we meet with Sanskrit suffixes; and in modern times we come across foreign and different kinds of suffixes being used. For the purposes of this chapter these suffixes can be divided into the following three groups:—1. Those which are still used in everyday language as independent words. 2. Those which exist only as terminations but which nevertheless convey

their meaning. 3. Those which are apparently meaningless, but which on scrutiny are found to be familiar words, with certain phonetic changes. (This group includes many words which cannot yet be explained.) This threefold division cannot be mutually exclusive for we come across forms which cannot strictly be placed in any one group, but which seem to be intermediate in form.

In Telugu place-names, we can recognise the following hundred terminations as fairly common.

- abada; - ada; - ati; - agra-haram; - ala; - ali; - anki; - *antla*; - aru; - **ACHELLAM**; - *banda*; - *chedu*; - *cherla*; - *cheruvu*; - chinta; - chola; - *devi*; - dinne; - endla; - *ela*; - *eru*; - *gadda*; - **GAMA**; - gandi; - **GIRI**; - gudem; - *gunta*; - *ika*; *ili*; - *kakani*; - *kallu*; - *kandigai*; - *katta*; - kimidi; - *kodu*; - *kollu*; - *konda*; - *kuduru*; - *kota*; - *koppula*; - *lanka*; - *madugu*; - *mala*; - *manda*; - *matta*; - *manchili*; - *meraka*; - *merla*; - *metta*; - *mukkala*; - *mudi*; - *nadu*; - **NAGARAM**; - *olu*; - *padu*; - *paka*; - *palle*; - *palli*; - *palem*; - *para*; - *parru*; - *parti*; - *patla*; - **PATNAM**; - *pattu*; - *penta*; - *peta*; - *pili*; - *podala*; - *prolu*; - *pudi*; - **PURAMU**; - **PURI**; - *puttuka*; - *ralu*; - *ramam*; - *rayi*; - *ratla*; - *revu*; - **SAMUDRAM**; - **SATRAM**; - *tampara*; - *tota*; *uru*; - *urru*; - *urti*; - *vada*; - *vagu*; - *vaka*; - *valli*; - *valasa*; - *vanka*; - *varam*; - *vayi*; - *velagu*; - *vennu*; - *volu*; - *veta*; - *vidu*; - *villi*.

Sanskrit words are printed in capital letters; names for which older forms are available are italicised.

Of these endings we notice that a few are of Sanskrit origin, one or two of Hindustani origin and of the rest we are able to recognise in some of the forms the everyday Telugu words used to denote features of the landscape or topographical peculiarities. Omitting for the present, terms of foreign origin we can divide the rest into the three groups already mentioned.

1. Those which are still used in everyday languages as independent words:—

The following forms may be placed under this head; - *banda*: a stone or rock; *cheruvu*: tank; *chinta*: the tamarind; *eru*: stream; *gaḍḍa*: stream; *gaṇḍi*: ravine; *gūḍem*: Koya or Boya village; *gunta*:

a pit; *guṭṭa*: a hillock; *kaṭṭa*: a bund; *kṛppu*: roof or top; *koṇḍa*: a hill; *kōṭa*: a fort; *kuduru*: base; *lanka*: island; *maḍugu*: marsh; *mala*: mountain; *manda*: shepherd village; *maṭṭa*: palmyra frond; *meraka*: upland; *meṭṭa*: hillock; *nāḍu*: country; *palle* or *palli*: hamlet; *parra*: marsh; *parru*: foreshore; *penṭa*: rubbish heap; *pēṭa*: suburb; *rāyi*: stone; *rēvu*: sea-shore; *tampara*: marsh; *tōṭa*: garden; *ūru*: place; *vāgu*: mountain stream; *vennu*: ridge.

2. Those which exist only as terminations, but which nevertheless convey their meaning:—

The following may be placed under this class:—*āru*: river; *kallu*: stone (in dialectical usage and in compound words); *kōḍu*: marsh; *pāḍu*: place; *pālem*: village; *palli*: village; *paṭṭu*: dwelling place (in compound words also); *prōlu*: city; *valasa*: exile: migration; *viḍu*: house.

3. Those suffixes which are apparently meaningless, but which on scrutiny are found to be familiar words, sometimes having undergone certain phonetic changes. (This group includes many words which cannot yet be explained).

The following are the list of such terminations:— *āḍa*; — *adi*; — *ala*; — *ali*; — *anki*; — *anṭla*; — *chēḍu*; — *cherla*; — *chola*; — *ela*; — *enḍla*; — *ika*; — *ili*; — *kakani*; — *kimidi*; — *kollu*; — *macchi*; — *merla*; — *mukkala*; — *mūḍi*; — *ōlu*; — *pāka*; — *parti*; — *paṭṭa*; — *podala*; — *pūḍi*; — *puṭṭuka*; — *rāla*; — *ratta*; — *urru*; — *urti*; — *vāḍa*; — *vāka*; — *valli*; — *vanka*; — *vāram*; — *velagu*; — *vela*; — *villi*; — *vōlu*.

After excluding the above terminations we have the following suffixes left which we can classify as follows.

Foreign Suffixes.

a. Hindustani: *abada*.

b. Sanskrit: *āchalam*: mountain; *agrahāram*: Brahman quarters; *divi*: island; *gāma*: village (a contracted form of *grāma*) It also, we think, occurs as *rāma*, *gām*, *rām*.); *khandiga*: a suburb; *nagar*: a palace; *puramu*: a city; *puri*: city; *pattanam*: a city; *samudram*: sea; *satram*: inn. *giri*: hill. (We have given the Telugu forms of the Sanskrit words.)

CHAPTER III

Section 2

A Study in detail of some place-name Endings.

[In this section an attempt is made to explain some more place-name endings. In many cases, such terms are self-explanatory, but there are still many old terms which seem to have become contracted to unrecognisable forms in place-name endings. The method adapted in this section is to trace as far as is possible the older forms of place-names having a particular ending and to deduce from the suffixal part the probable form and the meaning of these suffixes or place-name endings].

- ANG !

This is a place-name ending that is widely distributed, but not plentiful in place-names. The name is especially to be found in the Godavary and Vizag Districts, and that we suspect along the Sea-coast. The study of the termination reveals some interesting facts. This suffix is found in various forms, - *Angi*, - *anki*, - *ingi*, - *inki*, and we may assume in its softened and palatalised form of - *Ichchi*, - *achchi*, - *inchi*, - and *anchi*. When we study the older forms of some names ending with this termination we notice that the older form was not palatalised, neither had the nasalisation taken place. We come across such terminations as - *ike*, - *ika*, - *ake*, - *eki*, etc.

As usual when we try to understand the meaning of this suffix, let us see which Telugu word it resembles. The only word that strikes us as cognate is the word *anchu* = border or edge. The meaning of this word suits very well with the idea of its being used as a place-name suffix, to indicate the sea-coast or a lake-edge, a hill-side, the border of a district, etc. We find the tamil word *karei* used for this purpose, as in the place-name Perungkarei.

The District sketch maps show the position of some such place names. Taking the Visag map, Yellamanchili, may very well have been once on the coast. The same could be said of Yellanki, near Bhimlipatam. We notice that Merangi, Ittanki, Avalangi,

Kotakki etc. are all along the edges of a river. We find the same in all the other maps. Thus we find Poranki, Tadanki, Yeranki, and Palankipadu in a line, which suggests that the course of the river Kistna might have once been along that tract, falling into the sea at Masulipatam itself, or perhaps that there was an extensive swamp, stretching out from Penuganchiprolu to Masulipatam and that these were villages along the edge of this bog.

The development of the suffix must have been as follows. The forms - *ika* or - *ake*, which seem to be very old, underwent a euphonic nunnation like some formative suffixes into - *inke*, and - *anke*, and these were sometimes palatalised to - *inche*, and - *anche*, and later in some cases were assimilated to - *ichche*, - *achche*. Or we may suppose that they were first palatalised and then dissimilated, as - *ake*, - *achi*, - *anchi*. In this connection it will be useful to quote a paragraph from Caldwell. Speaking of the earliest traces of the Dravidian Languages in his introduction he says: Damirice, and also Scytia Dymirice, Peutinger tables. Dimirica, in the Ravenna cosmography, see p. 14. The Dymir of Dymirica was supposed by Dr. Burnell to represent the word Tamir, and if so the Damir of Damirica will come still nearer thereto. The portion of the Malabar coast immediately to the north of Dymirike is called, by Ptolemy and the author of the 'Periplus; Ariake, and it seems probable that this was the district to which the name of Aryaka was given by Varaha-mihira several centuries afterwards. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V.), It appears probable therefore, that the difference between the Aryans and the Dravidians can be traced in the names given by the Greeks to those portions of the Malabar coast which we know from other sources of information have always been inhabited by Aryans and Dravidians respectively.' ¹.

From the above we notice that the Tamil country was known as Dymir-ice or Dimir-ika, and the portion occupied by the Aryans as Ari-ake or Ary-aka. This suggests how very early this word *ike* or *ika* was used to signify, a side, portion, or edge. We may

1. *CDL*. 2nd Ed., p. 97. For Euphonic nunnation or nasalisation see pp. 65-66. For formative addition to roots, see pp. 97-98.

therefore assume that this suffix meant originally, an edge, or border, and is synonymous with a word like *simā*. In many place-names, the idea is topographical but in later names it becomes also geographical or even political.

The palatalisation of this form is no uncommon phenomenon in Telugu. In a word like *addanku*, which means a bar or opposition, the idea is perhaps *addu-anchu*, meaning, "Bar across the edge." Here we have the unpalatalised form. Similarly we have both *vonqu* and *vanchu*, bend, *pagu* and *panchu* divide etc.

We shall next proceed to give a list of place-names having this suffix, of which older forms are available. From this list it will be noticed that the oldest forms have the form - *ika*, - *ike*. We have arranged the list in Chronological order.

?	Lymer-ika, 1st Cent. A.D. ²
?	Sivlingaka, 5th Cent. A.D. ³
?	Kodir - ike, 673 A.D. ⁴
?	And-eki, 945 A.D. ⁶
Koniki	Kod - ikim, 5th or 6th Cent. ⁶
Jirjingi	Jijj-ika, 9th or 10th Cent. ⁷

2. *Mpe.* Para. 51.

3. *Rhf.* Vol. 4. Jul.-Oct. 1929. p. 21.

4. *Ei.* Vol. 8. No. 24. Chendalur Plates of Sarvalokasraya.

5. *Ib.* Vol. 18. No. 25. Vemalurpadu Plates of Ammaraja II.

6. *Ib.* Vol. 15. No. 11. Two Pallava C. P. Grants.

7. *Rhf.* Vol. 3. Jul. 1928. p. 49. The Jirjingi C. P. of Indravarma.-R. Subbarao.

Ib. Vol. 2 Jan.-Ap. 1928. p. 242. The Pamulavaka C.P. *Rim.* Vol. 3. Nos. 1 and 77 pp. 1665. 1666, 1676.

Rhf. Vol. 1. p. 43 Korni C.P. Grant.-G.V. Sitapati.

G.O. No. 1035 Home (educational) 10th Aug. 1917. Nos. 114-116 and 117 of 1917.

Bui. No. 254 Hadagalli Tq. Bellary Dt. p. 255 ff.

Ei. Vol. 4. No. 10. Pithapuram Pillar Insc. of Mallideva.

Bui. Nos. 20, 21. Kavali Tq. p. 697 ff.

Bui. Nos. 20, 21. Kavali Tq. p. 697 ff.

Ei. Vol. 8. No. 3. Madras Museum Plates of Vema.

Ib. Vol. 3. No. 4. Bitragunta Grant of Sangama II.

Ib. Vol. 5. No. 10. Pithapuram Plates of Vira Choda.

Ei. Vol. 1. Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarma.-E. Hultzsch.

Ei. Vol. 5. No. 10. Pithapuram Plates of Vira Choda.

Yellamanchili	Elamam - chi, 10th Cent.
Do.	Elama - chechi, 1391 A.D.
Do.	Elam - anchi ?
Tonangi	Ton - engi 1082 A.D. 1116.
Nutakki	Nutek-ki, 1118, Nuteki, 1137, Nud - enkki, 1158 A.D.
Uttangi	Uchehangipura, 1138 A.D.
Velangi	Vel - engu, 1194 A.D.
Jaladanki	Jald - anki. 1244 A.D.
?	Pangi Nadu, 1345 A.D.
?	Muli - iki Nadu 1351 A.D.
Tondangi	Dont - engi, ? 1431 A.D.
?	Poppangika Hill, ?
?	Trummiki, ?

We append a list of Telugu Place-names having this suffix.

Place-names with Suffix-angi.

Kistna Dt.

Vell-anki, Survey No. 4. Bandar Tq. Bandar Sub-Dt.

Pal-anki-padu, No. 11. Divi Tq. Bandar Sub-Dt.

Penng-anchi-prolu, No. 82. Nandigama Tq. Jaggayyapet Sub.-Dt.

Kond-angi, No. 153. Kaikalur Tq. Kaikalur Sub.-Dt.

Por-anki, No. 72. Bezwada Tq. Kaukipadu Sub-Dt.

Vell-anki, No. 106. Nandigama Tq. Zamindari, Nandigama Sub-Dt.

Ayy-anki, No. 8 Divi tq. Pamarru sub-Dt.

Tad-anki, No. 85. Gannavaram Tq. Uyyuru sub-dt.

West Godavary Dt.

M-anchili, No. 129. Tanuku Tq. Attili sub-dt.

Rel-angi, No. 91. „ zamindari.

Pōṇ-angi, No. 113. Ellore tq. Ellore sub-dt.

Kon-iki, No. 139. Ellore tq. Vallura north zamindari. Ellore s. dt.

Ved-angi, No. 22. Narasapur tq, Palacol sub-dt.

Yalam-anchili, No. 48. „, zamindari.

Pal-angi, No. 62. Tanuku tq. Sanivarapupeta zamindari.

Tanuku sub-dt.

Guntur Dt.

Add-anki, No. 10. Ongole tq. Addanki sub-dt.

Ann-angi, No. 73. Ongole tq.

Kon-iki, No. 38. Ongole tq. Ammanabrolu sub-dt.

Ul-ichi, No. 55. Ongole tq.

Kon-anki, No. 115. Narasaraopet tq. Chilakalurpet sub-dt.

M-anchi-kallu, No. 42. Palnad tq. Macherla sub-dt.

From other Places.

Ad-auki,

Kor-angi,

Alaz-angi,

Kinj-angi,

Andr-angi,

Kunch-angi,

Chill-angi,

Kanak-anchi,

Choll-angi,

Karum-anchi,

Penuganchiprolu is probably the village at the broader edge. Palankipadu is the village at the milky, or white edge. Kondaki is the village at the foot of a hill. Palangi may be compared with Palankipadu. There are many, beginning with the syllable *kon*, as Koniki, Konanki, etc. These may indicate some back-corner villages.

We do not find this place-name ending occurring by itself as a place-name. That would indicate that the meaning of the term continued to be evident for a long time.

-aru.

This is one of the oldest of Dravidian roots and is found in place-names not only in the Telugu country or even in India but almost all over Asia, indeed all over the world. It is the occurrence of this root in the place-names of the Mesopotamian plateau that caused Herr Shoener to name the hypothetical mother tongue of the Dravidian dialects as *Âr-mal-ûr-ic*.

It is wonderful that Tamil still preserves this root as a common word in everyday use. It is the common word for 'river.'

The word is not used in Telugu for river, for the form has undergone a change to *ēru*. But it must have been once the normal form and a few place-names have preserved for us to this day the form-*āru*. These names are of course the names of rivers and streams. The following are some of those names.

Chey-*āru* Kāṭ-*āru*, Mail-*ār*, and Penn-*ār*. Cheyyār is translated in Sanskrit inscriptions as *Bāhu-nadī* (1433 A. D.) and Bahu (1581 A. D.). The meaning is supposed to be 'hand-river'. Mailar has the older forms Mail-ara and Mauli-maḍu. *Maḍu* is another old Telugu word and means 'stream;' it is related to the word *maḍugu*. Pennar has been known as Penna (1409 A.D.), Penna, Penna (1351 A.D.). The meaning of Penna is *pen-ār* or 'big river'. The final 'r' seems to have been dropped early in the name of this river. A river with the same name has been translated as *Tynna* by Ptolemy about the second century A.D. This river has been identified either with the Kistna or the Pennar, which is also known as the Pinnakini.

The same termination is found in the names of the following rivers. The Pal-aru between Tanguturu and Singarayakonda, the Kall-aru and Pambal-aru between Manubolu and Gudur. We cannot say if this ending has been retained due to Tamil influence, or on account of the suffix becoming fossilised.

We shall, in another place discuss at some length, the prevalence of this term as a place and river name ending, almost all over the world. How much history lies hidden in this little syllable of two letters. It is only now that scholars have succeeded in unraveling the mystery of this term as a suffix in European place-names. But this term was a mystery word, during the last century. Note for instance what Isaac Taylor says about it. "The widely-diffused root *ar* causes much perplexity. The Arar, as Caesar says, flows 'incredibili lenitate'; while, as Coleridge tells us, the Arve and the Arveriron 'rave ceaselessly.' We

Kim. Cuddapah Dt. p. 574 ff. No. 820. *ET.* Vol. 15. No. 18. The Pennaguru Grant of Tirumala I.

Kim. Bellary Dt. p. 255 ff. Nos. 211 and 214.

Eni. Stone Inscriptions. Atmakur Div. Nos. 34 and 39. *ET.* Vol. 3. No. 4. Bitragunta Grant of Sangama II.

find however on the one hand, a Welsh word *araf*, gentle, and an obsolete Gaelic word *ar*, slow, and on the other we have a Celtic word *aru*, violent, and a Sanskrit root *arb*, to ravage or destroy. From one or other of these roots, according to the character of the river, we may derive the names of the Ar-w, in Monmouth, the Are and the Aire in Yorkshire, the Ayr in Cardigan and Ayrshire, the Arre in Cornwall, the Arro in Warwick, the Arrow, in Hereford and Sligo, the Ar-ay in Argyle, the Ara-glin and the Ara-gadeen in Cork, the Erve, the Arve, the Ourcq, the Are, the Ar-riege, and the Ar-veiron, in France, the Ar-ga and the three rivers called Ar-va in Spain, in Italy the Ar-no and Er-a, in Switzerland the Aar and the Ar-bach, in Germany the Ohre, Ahr, Is-ar, Aur-ach, Or re, Er-l, Er-la, Ar-l, Or-la, Ar-gen, and several mountain streams called the Are, besides the well-known ancient names of the Oar-us, the Ar-axes, the Ar-ar-ar, the Nap-ar-is, the Ar-as, and the Jax-ar-tes."

Thus, strange and perplexing though it was, it is no longer so, but the prevalence of this river name all over the world points to one conclusion, namely, the relationship of all languages, and the antiquity of the original language of the peninsula of India.

There are a few more river names in Europe, which all unsuspectingly retain, we think, this root-*ār*, Isaac Taylor has not thought of it, and has therefore not included them in the list of *ār* river-names. That is because these names seem to preserve the *ēr* rather than the *ār* form. They are, the Lake Erie, the Er-yn river in Sussex, the Yair river in Selkirk, the Yarcombe river in Devonshire, the Yare in Normandy, the Yarro in Lancashire, and Yarrow in Selkirk.

During the tense period of the recent global war, Newspapers flashed such headlines as—"The Russians have crossed the Oder river" "The Aur has been crossed" etc. Compare these forms with Telugu Odōru and Tamil Oṭṭōri, a suburb of Perambur, Madras; and Aur with Telugu—*āru* = river:

See Ch. , Section 1, on Dravidian Place-names outside India Alt-dravidisches—Eine namenkundliche Untersuchung, Schoener.

Twp. p. 167.

Twp. pp. 30, 160, 165, 173, 165.

In English and Scottish place-names the following are given:—

Aber = a river mouth near Aberdeen.

Moer = a river mouth near Muerrass.

May it not be that in both cases the ending—er points to the same form *ēr* = a river.

– cherla.

This is one of the very common place-name endings and yet its meaning is a mystery to many people. The form of the suffix as it is, seems to indicate that it is plural in number. If so its singular would be *chēru*. This *chēru* is the same as the Tamil *sēru*: *sīru vayal* or small tank and *seruvu*: *vayal* or tank; Telugu *cheruvu*: tank and Kanarese *kerc*: tank. The form *chēru* is pluralised to *cherlu* and later the genitive form *cherla* is substituted. Many intermediate forms like *cheruvu*, *cheru* and *cherru* are available. The Telugu form *cheruvu* has undergone a contraction to *cherru* when it is used as a place-name ending. Most of the older forms of – *cherla* place-names show the fuller *cheruvu* ending. But some show a – *cheru* ending. In Tamil *seru* is treated as a diminutive of *seruvu* and perhaps the same distinction was made in Old Telugu and hence forms with both *chēru*, *cheruvu* are available. The same word when used independently for tank has the full form *cheruvu*. There are a few place-names to-day having the suffix – *cheruvu*. These must be new names and not survivals of an older form.

The following older forms of the suffix are available:—

– cheruvu.	900 A.D.	1194 A.D.
– cheruvu.	920 A.D.	1132–1185 A.D.
– cheruvu.		
– cheru.	1061 A.D.	
– cherru.	1207 A.D.	
– cherla.	1134–1400 A.D.	1697 A.D.
– charla.	1515 A.D.	
– cherla.		
– jerla.		

1. See Ch. Grammatical Peculiarities, Pluralisation and Genitive idea in place-names.

The following older - *cherla* place-names show the change and development of the terminal syllable.

Chaki - cherla.	Chaki - cheruvu.	896 A.D.	(not identified) ²
?	Tamara - chernu.	1061 A.D.	³
Koccherla.	Kroch-cheruvu.	1132 A.D.	⁴
Chejarla.	Chen-jerla.	1247 A.D.	⁵
Macherla.	Mahadevi-cherla.	1397 A.D.	⁶
?	Supu-cheru.	(old Kutila type)	⁷
Ubbacherla.	Uppum-gere. (Kan.)		⁸

That the form *cherla* means a tank can be also proved by the translations that place-names have undergone. Ubba-cherla in the Gooty taluq of the Anantapur district is referred to in an old Kanarese inscription as Uppum-gere or Uppun-gere.⁹ The form *kere* is Kanarese for tank in modern usage also. The derivation of the word may be from *kēru* or *chēru*: to gather, as water in a pond. *Cheru* or *seru* also means the mud or slush in a tank in the Tamil language e.g., Telugu Sōr-minu = very small fish found in muddy water. Such prefixes as *rompi*: mud, *chem*: red, *krotta*: new, *pere*: large, *gādi*: channel, *chāki*: washerman, *nalla*: black and *uppu*: salt, clearly indicate that the suffix means a tank or collection of water; or muddy water.

This suffix occurs as a place-name by itself as in the village name Cherla.

This place-name suffix-*cherla*, must not be confused with the very common Tamil place-name suffix-*chēri* as in Gudu-van-cheri, Para-cheri etc. *Seri* in Tamil means a town or street and

2. *E.I.* Vol. 5, No. 16 C. Bezwaale Plates of Chalukya-Rhima I.

3. *E.I.* Vol. 9, No. 11. Madras Museum Plates of Vajrahasta III.

4. *RhJ.* Oct. 1930.

5. *Rim.* Vol. 2. Guntur Dt. p. 746 ff. No. 189.

6. *Id.* No. 536.

7. *RhJ.* Vol. 2. Pts. 3, 4, January—April 1923. p. 271. The Dharmalingesvara C. P. of Anantavarma and Devendravarma.

8. G.O. No. 183. 23rd September 1921. Epigraphy. Nos. 337 and 336 of 1920.

9. Ref. above under Ubbacherla.

is cognate with Kanarese *kēri*: a street. This root is not found in common Telugu, but the form *gēra*: a street occurs in Mala septs.¹⁰

In certain combinations the form-*cherla* is voiced to-*jerla*. This is usually due to the presence of a nasal which is sometimes lost in the modern form of such place-names - *cherla*; -*jerla*, -*zerla*.

e.g. Che-*jerla*, Koni-*jerla*, Nalla-*jerla*.

Che-*jerla*, Chen-*jerla*. 1247. A.D. Similarly the other prefixes must have been *kodin* and *nallam*.¹¹

The following are a few-*cherla* suffixed place-names.

Che-*jerla*, Cherla-gudi-padu, Cherla, Chaki-*cherla*, Betam-*cherla*, Jad-*cherla*, Jakkana-*cherla*, Ko-*cherla*, Kanchaka-*cherla*, Kan-*cherla*-kota, Kan-*cherla*, Kanchika-*cherla*, Koni-*jerla*, Linganna-boyina-*cherla*, Ma-*cherla*, Mo-*cherla*, Nan-*cherla*, Nalla-*jerla*, Oppi-*cherla*, Peda-kan-*cherla*, Rompi-*cherla*, Remidi-*cherla*, Peri-*cherla*, Puli-*cherla*, Timmana-*cherla*, Ubba-*cherla*, Vappi-*cherla*, Gadi-*cherla*.

-*cheruvu*.

This is the common word in Telugu for tank. It is cognate with Tamil *seruvu* and Kanarese *gere*. It has long been in use in Telugu as a place-name ending. The earlier *cheruvu* place-name endings have developed into - *cherla* as place-name suffixes. The older forms of such place-names have invariably the form - *cheruvu* as the suffix. There are many old place-names which have not yet been identified and which preserve this ending. But place-names which exist today with - *cheruvu* suffixes must be regarded as new names, for if they had been old their suffixes would have developed into - *cherla*. The following older forms of some

10. *Tet. Mala Septs.*

11. See Ch. Grammatical Peculiarities and Ch. Prefixes.

place-names ending in - *cheruvu* show what the suffixes were like at an earlier period. (a)

Chen - cheruvu.	340 - 450 A. D.
Chaki - cheruvu.	889 - 918 A. D.
Potarayangari - cheruvu.	889 - 918 A. D.
Chintareni - cheruvu.	889 - 918 A. D.
Komminayaku - cheruvu.	1185 A. D.
Bhimaraju - cheruvu	1194 A. D.
Kesavachantu - cheruvu.	1194 A. D.
Nallan - jeruvu.	1194 A. D.
Rayala - cheruvu Rayala - cheru.	1598 A. D.
Patakotta - cheruvu. Kotta - cheruvu.	?
Yerram - jeruvu.	?

A few of these places remain to-day with the same suffixes, but it is most probable that these suffixes were re-introduced on the analogy of newer place-names ending in *cheruvu*. For instance Rayala-cheruvu was Rayala-cheru in 1598 A. D., but is Rayala-cheruvu again to-day. Similarly we have in existence to-day Kamburan cheruvu, Yerra-cheruvu, Krotta-cheruvu and Nalla-cheruvu. The name Pata-kotta-cheruvu is interesting. There are two tanks in the village, the old and the new tanks. The form Kotta-cheruvu may indicate the date when the new tank was dug. To-day the two tanks jointly give their name to this place, so that Pata-kotta-cheruvu is the old-new-tank.

The presence of a nasal voices the *ch* in *cheruvu* to a *j* as - *jeruvu*. Such voiced forms are Nallan-jeruvu and Yerram-jeruvu. But the voiced form is again de voiced in modern forms of such names as Nalla-cheruvu and Yerra-cheruvu. This again may show that the modern forms are not survivals but new formations of the old place-names on the analogy of the new form.

- a. *RhJ.* Vol. I p. 95. Pedavegi C. P. Grant.
EL. Vol. 5. No. 16 C. Bezvada Plates of Chalukya-Bhima I.
EL. Vol. 4. No. 2. Pithapuram Pillar Inscription.
Id. No. 10. Pithapuram Pillar of Mallideva.
EL. Vol. 16. No. 23. Vellangudi Plate of Venkata I.
G. O. No. 183. 23rd September 1921, Epigraphy No. 398 of 1920.
Sis. No. 704. Kaza, Kistna Dt.

The following are some of the - cheruvu ending place-names.

Bandalayi-cheruvu, Bala-cheruvu, Chintala-cheruvu, Damal-cheruvu, Jakkala-cheruvu, Kammala-cheruvu, Krotta-cheruvu, Maddala-cheruvu, Mulukala-cheruvu, Nalla-cheruvu, Putla-cheruvu, Pata-kotta-cheruvu, Rayala-cheruvu, Talla-cheruvu, Vellala-cheruvu, Yerra-cheruvu.

- devi.

The term *dēvi* is a corruption of Sanskrit *dīvi* from *dvīpa*: island. The term is not used very extensively to indicate an island for the forms *lanka* and *gaḍḍa* are preferred. But there are a few place-names, especially in the Kistna district, which end in *dīvi* or *dēvi*.

The following old forms of place-names show this development. (b)

Divi	Dvipa.	1153.	A.D.
	Divi.	1231.	A.D.
Talagoda-devi.	Dirpa.	1231.	A.D.
	Pedda-divi-pura.	1313.	A.D.
	Krid-devi.	1380.	A.D.

Divi was not the only form used to indicate an island even at this early date, for in the same inscription which mention Krid-dēvi we have mention of Immadi-lanka; and the same inscription which mentions Divi mentions also Nange-gaḍḍa.

The following are some of the place-names that end in - *dēvi*. The very paucity of the names ending in - *dēvi* indicate that it is not a common suffix and that it is an imported one.

Bena-devi, Divi, Hamsala-divi, Mopi-devi, Talagada-divi.

- eru.

This is the everyday Telugu word for river. It is used to indicate usually smaller rivers especially streams, brooks, rivulets and creeks. The larger rivers are known by the Sanskrit term *nadi*. There are many other older words for streams etc. but these

A. EI. Vol. 3. No. 15. Ganapesvaram Inscription of Ganapati.
 EI. Vol. 3. No. 10. Vanapalli Plates of Anna-vema.
 RIM. Vol. 2. Kistna Dt. p. 877. Nos. 136 and 138.

are not usually used. A dug out channel or canal is called a *kāluva*. This is a very old word and has cognates in all the Dravidian dialects. In Tamil an *āru* is different from an *ēri*. An *ēri* is a valley with banks to form a reservoir. It seems (c) to be used to indicate large natural depressions which hold water during the rainy season. But *ēru* in Telugu is equivalent to Tamil *āru*, i.e., a stream or river.

The form *ēru* has been in use in Telugu from very early times. We do not know when the Dravidian form *āru* became *ēru* in Telugu. There are very few names ending in *āru* in Telugu and these few may be treated as survivals due more to Tamil influence. The only change the form has undergone is the change of hard 'ṛ' to 'r'. The following are some names ending in *ēru*.(d)

Kanteru.	Kand-eru	Gand-eru.	633-663 A.D.
Koll-eru.		Kaunala.	634 A.D.
?		Ed-eru.	799-843. A.D.
?		Gunt-eru.	945 A.D.
?		(G)angal-eru.	1011 A.D.
?		Koruk-eru.	1011 A.D.
Mann-eru.		Mann-eru.	1070 A.D.
?		Kommar-eru.	1128 A.D.
?		Krant-eru.	1182 A.D.

c. BJM. Ch. 1. Diary under Ap. 24.

d. G. O. No. 1035, Home (Educational) 10th August 1917. No. 7-a of Appendix A.

See under "-aru".

El. Vol. 5. No. 16. Ederu Plates of Vijiaditya II.

El. Vol. 18. No. 25. Vemulurpadu Plates of Ammaraja II.

El. Vol. 6. No. 36. Kanastipunda Grant of Vimaladitya.

Ib.

Ib. No. 35. Teki Plate of Rajaraja Choda-Ganga.

El. Vol. 4. No. 33. Pithapuram Ins. of Malladeva.

El. Vol. 6. No. 15. Two Pillar Ins. at Amaravati.

El. Vol. 4. No. 10. Pithapuram Pillar of Mallideva.

Ib.

El. Vol. 6. No. 5. Chebrolu Ins. of Jaya.

El. Vol. 4. No. 51. Donapundi Grant of Namaya-Nayaka.

BNI. Kandukur Div. p. 465 ff. Nos. 8 and 30.

See under "-aru".

El. Vol. 12. No. 12. Nammuru Grant of Ammaraja II.

El. Vol. 9. No. 16. Vandram Plates of Ammaraja II.

Kal-eru.		Kal-eru.	1194	A.D.
?		Upput-eru.	1194	A.D.
?		Ir-eru.	1235	A.D.
?		Dusan-eru.	1338	A.D.
Pal-eru.	Kshira. (Sans.)	Pal-eru.	1520	A.D.
Cheyy-eru.	Bahu. (Sans.)		1581	A.D.
?		Kropp-eru.	?	
?		Tand-eru.	?	

The following are some of the names ending in *eru* of places and streams at the present time.

Bal-eru, Domm-eru, Et-eru, El-eru, Goll-eru, Gudla-vall-eru, Gollala-kod-eru, Gummil-eru, Got-eru, Kat-eru, Kal-eru, Kol-eru, Kant-eru, Kund-eru, Lankata-kod-eru, Mun-eru, Marut-eru, Nagil-eru, Ol-eru, Pet-eru, Pal-eru, Pala-kod-eru, Peyy-eru, Pol-eru, Tenn-eru, Vag-eru, Vol-eru. Vadisal-eru, Vuyy-eru, Walt-(air)-eru, Yel-eru, Var-eru.

N.B.—Compare with the remarks made under the head “-ār”.

— gadda.

This place-name ending is not very common. The form gadda, may be a variant of the form gatta, a bund or bank, which is really a voiced form of katta. Whether katta, is derived from kattu, to build, to tie, or from gatti, hard, we cannot say. A gadda in Telugu is a lump, and the same word is also used for a boil, compare with tamil katti, boil. The older forms of this suffix do not help us much, as only two are available. Jonnala-gadda, was Jonnala-ganda in 1598^(a), and Nange-gadda, was Nange-gadda in 1231 A.D. ^(b) Therefore, the form-ganda, should be taken only as a scribal flourish, and not as original especially because the much older name of Nange-gadda, does not show this nasal. Besides the loss of the nasal would have in all probability lengthened the form to -gada, and not doubled it to -gadda.

Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, however tells us that the Telugus call a rivulet as ‘gadda’, and therefore it is

a. EI. Vol. 16. No. 23. Vellangudi plates of Venkata I.

b. Ib. Vol. 3. No. 15. Ganapesvaram inscription of Ganapathi.

interesting to quote here what he says about the name of a stream. (c) Near Nandigam, a village in Tekkali taluq, flows a rivulet called Sandama gadda, which never gets dry. This name of the rivulet does not go without a significance. In the 11th cent. A.D. Padmachandra the ruler of Bijayapur had installed an idol of the goddess Chandi on the banks of this small river, which came to be known by the name Chandinalo. The Telugus call a rivulet as gadda and as time passed by, this rivulet came to be known as Chandi-gadda. Having drifted through the channel of slang terminology, this word Chandi, lost its *ch* sound, and in its place acquired the *sa* sound. Thus the name Chandinalo, was replaced by Sandama Gadda. This rivulet now flows at a distance of about six miles from Tekkali, towards the east.

It is possible that the narrow water-ways or channels that are dug to irrigate fields, and which are bounded by bunds called 'gattus' on either side, came to be known as gatta and then gadda. A related word which also occurs as a place-name ending is gandi, as in Sorla-gandi, Ynda-gandi etc. This word is explained as a 'leak in the dyke'. The place-name Nange-gadda suggests some dyke, as the village is in a water-logged area. While Jonnala-gadda (d) suggests a field of jonna or enolam grain.

There is another place-name ending found in the names of places further to the North, especially in the Ganjam District. It is gada. We do not think that this should be confused with gadda, for that form goes back to a *kataka*, Sanskrit for fort. The modern Jangada, was originally Jaya-gada (e), and Jaya-kataka in the sixth or seventh century A.D.

In the Cuddapah district we come across place-names ending in gudda, guddam, as in Sazzala-gudda, Bollana-gudda and Dayyala-guddam.

c. RHJ. Vol. 7. Part I. July 1932. p. 31. Tekkali rock inscription of Padmachandradeb.

d. JSN.

e. RHJ. Vol. 4. Pts. 3 and 4. Jan.—April 1930, p. 199. A.C.P. Grant of Srirangaraya of Penugonda. Ed. by C. Narayanarao. See also under place-name Dharanikota, Ch. V. Section 2.

- giri.

A Sanskrit place-name ending, that must have come into use during Buddhist supremacy in the Telugu country. It is not one of the common suffixes and does not seem to have taken hold like other Sanskrit suffixes. The suffix *giri* when used as a place-name ending is not descriptive, as it is the Sanskrit equivalent of Telugu *konda*. Therefore the prefixes must be the descriptive terms in these place-names. But most of the prefixes are also Sanskrit terms, and they do not describe the natural formation of the mountains but extoll the sacred virtue of these places which have come to become religious sanctuaries.

The form *giri* does not undergo any change through the centuries. But we often come across interesting interchanges between synonymous terms. For example Venkata-giri is known also as Venkat-achellam and Venkat-adri. Mangala-giri was known as Mangala-saila in 1515 A.D.¹ But such changes are not very common. The following list of older forms shows that the form -giri has been intact for some centuries.

Ratna-giri.	Ratna-giri.	655 A.D. ²
	Ratna-giri.	662 A.D. ³
Kani-giri.	Kani-giri.	1526 A.D. ³
Penu-konda.	Ghana-giri.	1528 A.D. ⁴
Udaya-giri.	Udda-giri.	1598 A.D. ⁵

The only example which we could find where a -*giri* does not go back to an older -*giri* is in the place-name Prabha-giri-patnam.⁶ But it should be noted that the form -*giri* occurs medially in this name. In 1602 A.D. the form is Parbha kara-patnam but on account of its medial position we may say that the rule is not broken.

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1. EI. Vol. 6. No. 12-a. Inscrp. of Krishnaraya.
 2. SA. Vol. 2. Copper-plates Nos. 99, 100.
 3. BNI. Gudur Div. p. 399 ff. Nos. 5, 9, 15, 17, 20-22, 33.
 4. EI. Vol. 16. No. 23, Vellagudi Plate of Venkata I.
 5. RHJ. Vol. 4. Pts. 3 and 4. Jan.-April p. 199. C.P. Grant of Srirangaraya of Penugonda.
 6. BNI. Stone Inscriptions, p. 196 ff. Atmakur Div. No. 53.

There is an interesting case of reduplication in the place-name Parvata-giri.

The following are some of the place-names ending in *-giri*:—Chandra-giri, Deo-giri, Jagannadha-giri, Kali-giri, Kanaka-giri, Kani-giri, Komara-giri, Linga-giri, Mangala-giri, Parvata-giri, Pushpa-giri, Rama-giri, Ratna-giri, Udaya-giri, Vema-giri, Venkata-giri. Malkanagari and Nagari (hill range) may also be included.

Giri is of course the Sanskrit for hill or mountain. Almost all place-names having this ending are the names of hills or hill-top sanctuaries. Of the above names the following are interesting. Kani-giri was known in Sanskrit as Kanaka-giri. It may mean either the gold hill or hill of thorns. The original name of the place seems to have been Uppu-vūtu-grāmamu. It has had the forms Kana-giri and Kani-giri in the past in Telugu. It is probably derived as follows. Kanaka—Kana—Kani by the law of harmonic sequence.⁷

Pushpa-giri was known as Pushpachala in 1351 A.D.⁸ Ratna-giri was, as we have seen, Ratta-giri and Udaya-giri was Udda-giri in earlier days.⁹

Penukonda was known as Ghana-giri as late as 1856 A.D. It is a literal translation into Sanskrit of the Telugu and means 'big hill'. This Sanskrit form was in use in 1528 A.D., so that we cannot say which was the earlier name.¹⁰

— khandrika.

This is properly, not a place name ending, as it does not occur in combination with a prefix, but is appended to place-names. It is used to indicate a part or separate quarter of a village; we suspect it is used in much the same sense, in which the term *agraharam* is used now-a-days, and was intended to indicate the Brahman part of a village. It is by no means a common termination.

7. For references see under Kanigiri, *supra*

8. EI. Vol. 3. No 4. Bitragunta Grant of Sangama II.

9. For references see under Ratnagiri and Udayagiri *supra*.

10. RIM. Vol. 1. Anantapur Dt. No. 153. Also see under Penukonda *supra*.

The form *khattika*, is defined in the Telugu dictionary as a village, but this explanation is due to, we presume, the meaning it acquires later. It is obviously of Sanskrit derivation, and seems to be related to *khand* (a): a division or section, as is found in such usages as, *Asiakhandamn*, the continent of Asia, *Adi-khandamu*, the first book or the book of Genesis, in the Bible. A diminutive form of *khand*, is *khandika*, a small division. This form appears in Tamil, as *kandigai*, as in *Ikkadu-kandigai*, a small hamlet of *Ikkadu*, near Trivellore, in the Chingleput district. *Khandrika*, is explained as a sub-division of a village in Butterworth and Venugopal's "List of Nellore Inscriptions". (b) The older form of this word was either *khandi* or *khandikka*, (*khanddi* or *khanddika*), according to the extent of the sub-division. The following are some older forms of places ending with this word (c)

Kakati-khandi, 1269 A.D. (place not identified)

Talluri-khanddika, ?

Medukonduri-khandi, ?

Tandikonda-khanddi, ?

Jomnnalagadda-khandi, ?

We are unable to explain the intrusive 'r' in the modern form. It seems to be a case of dissimilation of 'ddi' to 'dri' (d).

The following are some place-names with this termination (c):—

Guntur District.

Narakoduru *khandrika* *ane* *Khandrika*, No. 66, Guntur Tq.

Khandrika-Agraharam, No. 45, Narasaraopet Tq.

Gesulavari-*Khandrika*, No. 33, Ongole Tq.

Kantetivari-*khandrika*, No. 57, Narasaraopet Tq.

Bhadrastula-*khandrika*, No. 100, Ongole Tq.

Ramalingesvaraswamivari-*khandrika*, No. 100, Ongole Tq.

Vemavaram *Khandrika*, No. 131, Sattenapalli Tq.

a. JSN.

b. BNI. Stone Ins. Atmakur Div. p. 196 ff No. 24 under Edurall apadu.

c. EI. Vol. 5. No. 14. Dibbida Plates of Arjuna. SI. Vol. 4. No. 709.

d. See Ch. on "Philological Problems"

e. LV. Guntur and Kistna.

Krishna District.

Narayanapuram-Khandrika, (new hamlet), 12, Bezwada Tq.
 Khandrika, No. 12, (new hamlet)
 Gopalapuram (Khandrika), No. 95, Gannavaram Tq.
 Veladipadu-khandrika No. 57, Gannavaram, Tq.
 Cherkupalli-khandrika, No. 20, Gudivada Tq.
 Venkatachalaswamivari-khandrika, No. 20, Gudivada Tq.
 Telagala-khandrika, No. 55, Gudivada Tq.
 Bommalaru-khandrika, No. Nuzvid Division.
 Garikipativari-khandrika, No. 10, Nuzvid Division.
 Bajaruvvari-khandrika, No. 21, Nuzvid Division.
 Perayagudem-khandrika, No. Nuzvid Division.
 Susurlavari-khandrika, No. 45, Nuzvid Division.
 Jandhayalavari-khandrika, No. 45, Gannavaram Tq.
 Ramachandrapuram *ane* Prakkivari-khandrika, No. 185,
 Kaikalur Tq.
 Krishnapuram-khandrika, No. 74, Bandar Tq.
 Kurugantivari-khandrika, (depopulated), No. 93, Nandigama,
 Tq.
 Popurivari-khandrika, No. 83, Gudivada Tq.

A study of the above names will indicate the use made of this suffix. It appears most commonly in the combination with the name of people as, Kantetivari, Bajaruvvari, Susurlavari etc. Khandrika-agraharam is an interesting combination made up of two similar words.

The Mushinikunda Grant of the Eastern Chalukya King Vishnuvardhana III.

Sir Vepa Ramesam, Kt., B.A., B.L.

The grant consists of four copper-plates strung on a ring, the ends of which are secured by means of a seal having the legend 'Sri Vishvasiddhi' in bold relief. They are now kept in the Madras Museum. Nothing is known as to who sent them there.

The earliest mention of the plates is to be found in item 9 App. A to G.O. d/ 10th August 1917 (Epigraphy) Part I. They were said to have been obtained from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. The dynasty and king were correctly given as the Eastern Chalukya Vishnuvardhana III; the language as Sanskrit (in Telugu) meaning that the Script is the Telugu-Kannada alphabet of the 7th cent. They were to be published in the *Epigraphia Indica* but this was never done. In the remarks column we have: "Registers evidently the renewal of an earlier grant of the village Mushinikunda in Tonkanatavadi vishaya to the Jain teacher Kalibhadracharya. Ayyana or Ayyanamahadevi, queen of Kubjavishnuvardhana, was the ajñanti of the grant and the charter was marked with the seal of Kubjavishnuvardhana." Under the heading 'date', we have "(Saka) 684 expressed by the chronogram Svadita Margasira ba-dvadasi." This entry calls for two comments. 1. Though it is true that Kubjavishnuvardhana I had the title 'Vishvasiddhi' according to his Chipurupalli plates (IA XX 11), it appears that Vishnuvardhana III also had the same title from the seal of the Ipur plates (EI XVIII 58). So the legend on the seal is ambiguous. But this does not matter. Two facts do not admit of any doubt *viz* (1) that the copper-plates were issued by Vishnuvardhana III which appears from the genealogy given and (2) that there was an earlier grant of the village by Kubjavishnuvardhana I and his wife Ayyanamahadevi, twice referred to in the plates.

There is no justification for the addition in the epigraphist's report of the word "Saka." However, by putting it within brackets, he made it clear that it was his own addition and not found in the original.

In Part II of the report, p. 116, para 21, the same statements are repeated. It contains the following sentence: 'The date which appears to be expressed by the chronogram *svadita* would correspond to Śaka 684 and would fall into the reign of Vishnuvardhana's son Vijayaditya 1'—obviously relying on Dr Fleet's scheme in IA XX according to which Vishnuvardhana III reigned from 709 to 746 and Vijayaditya I from 746 to 764. Mr. Krishnarao's scheme was not then published. If the date expressed by the chronogram is Śaka 684, clearly, it does not fall within Vishnuvardhana III's reign according to Dr Fleet's scheme. But the question arises whether the chronogram indicates the *Saka* year. There is only the chronogram but the word *Saka* is not there.

The next reference to the grant is in the Catalogue of copper-plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras published in 1918 with a preface by the Superintendent but prepared by the Archaeological Assistant. It was given under the heading 'Chalukya Eastern 4' at p. 2. The opening statement that there are five copper-plates is erroneous as there are only four. The statement on p. 3. that the year is more or less illegible is also incorrect for the letters 'svadita' are very clear. When I purchased in 1947 an estampage copy from the Museum authorities, Mr. B.V. Krishnarao who happened to be there on some other business looked at the plates and remarked that the letters 'svadita' were very clear.

Mr. M. S. Sarma writing in the Journal of the Oriental Research Madras, Vol. 9, p. 19 assumed that the chronogram indicated a year of Vishnuvardhana III. He therefore took the fig. 684 as a Śaka year and obtained 762 A.C. as a year of Vishnuvardhana III. As this does not agree with Dr Fleet's scheme he proceeded to frame a revised chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas so as to make 762 an year of Vishnuvardhana III. For this purpose he took up the very beginning of the dynasty as he had to and referred the Chipurupalli plates of Kubjavishnuvardhana I to the year 650 in the Śravaṇa of which year also there was a Lunar Eclipse as against 632 of Dr. Fleet. To make the Eastern Chalukya conquest agree with this adjustment, he took the date of the Koppuram plate, as calculated by Mr. Sewell, 10th October 631, to be the date of the conquest. He does not attempt any

explanation of the first difficulty which faces him *viz.* that on his adjustment the Chipurupalli plates would fall in the 19th year and not in 18th year of his reign as stated in the plates. The next difficulty that confronts him is that on this footing the Chandalur plates of Mangiyuvaraja require a Vaisakha lunar eclipse in 691. He admits "There is no lunar eclipse in the month of Vaisakha in A.D. 690, 691 or 692." In spite of this difficulty he continues to work out the chronology on his hypothesis that the year of the Chipurupalli plates is 650. One would expect some explanation for the non-verification of the lunar eclipse in the Chandalur plates if the hypothesis is not to be dropped. None was offered. We are left with the implication that Mangiyuvaraja issued a copper-plate mentioning as the occasion, a lunar eclipse which never occurred. Later on, he refers to the 3rd difficulty. According to his hypothesis, Gunaka Vijayaditya III reigned from 854 to 897. But it is well-known that the reign of his successor Chalukya Bhima I began in 892 according to the Attili plates. He sought to get over this difficulty by remarking that Chalukya Bhima might have been anointed king during the reign of his predecessor supporting the suggestion by the practice of the Cholas—a practice amply proved in the case of the Cholas by their inscriptions. The last objection to this hypothesis is that the Terala inscription of a Vishnuvardhana in a Bahudhanya year conflicts with it.

The next reference to the Mushinikunda plates is in the revised chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao in Vol IX J.A.H.R.S. He says "I have not personally examined the writing on the plates." The occasion in 1947 (*Supra*) was obviously the first time he saw the original. In his article, he suggested that the second letter *di* in *svadita* was a slip and should be *dhi*. He thus got 644 as the date meant by the chronogram giving 722 for the Christian year which would fall in Vishnuvardhana III's reign which lasted from 718 to 755.

The last reference to the plates is in the Inscriptions of the Andhra Dynasty by Dr. M. Ramarao, Guntur. It is item 113 in the list. In describing the item, the letter 'S' meaning Saka is prefixed to 684 though there is nothing in the original to justify it.

Thus, we see that four different scholars interpreted 684 of the chronogram as Saka 684 getting 762 A. C. as the date of the plates. But we are met by various difficulties in working out the details. The fifth (Mr. Krishnarao) amended the reading though the letter *di* is very clear.

What then is the explanation of the fig. 684? I first remark that no era is indicated in the grant itself. A South-Indian naturally thinks in such a connection of the Saka era with which we have *now* become very familiar. But when it does not work we have got to try other hypotheses and proceed to test them. Let us suppose that 684 is the year of the grant of Kubjavishnuvardhana I, the first grantor, the plates of Vishnuvardhana III being only a confirmation of the grant given by his ancestor. If the year was intended to be an year of Kubjavishnuvardhana I it must fall between 615 when he began to reign according to Dr. Fleet and 650 the last year of his reign according to Mr. M.S. Sarina. Is there any era by applying which to 684 we can get it between 615 and 650?

What are the eras, *then* prevailing in the Madras province? The Saka era itself was practically unknown, for, the earliest use of it in the Madras Province is in the so-called Gadval plates, which were issued by W. Ch. Vikramaditya I from Urugapura south of the Kaveri (EI X 102), in 674 A.C. Between 78 A. C. when the era was founded and 674 A.C. there are eight inscriptions found in all India using the Saka Era—four of the Kshatrapas in Kathiawar. (Andhra Chronology, p. 101) and four in the Deccan. (None between 205 and 578-A. C.) Inscriptions of the Vikrama era for all India were more numerous but in the Madras Province, there were none. The Gangeya era was the only era then used in the Madras Province but it was used only north of Chicacole and the Vamsadhara river. In fact, south of Chicacole, no Eras were used in the Madras province till 674. Thus, so far as the frequency of the use is concerned there is no more *prima facie* reason for thinking of one era rather than another in interpreting a grant to a Jain Mutt in Bezwada. So, let us try the Vikrama era. Subtracting 57 from 684 we get 627 which falls in Kubjavishnuvardhana's reign whether according to Dr. Fleet (615-632) or Mr. Krishnarao (624-641). Though there is not a single instance of the Vikrama era being used before 627, the

same argument can be used against the Saka era. So far as the practice of using an era is concerned, both stand on the same footing and there is nothing to be said in favour of or against either. But from another point of view, the case for the Vikrama era appears more probable.

The grant was made to a Jain Mutt in which there were many Jain acharyas of different ganas headed by Kalibhadracharya of Kavurur Gana. Jainism is a religion of N. India. Not only was the Vikrama era always used in N. India but also it has been used among the Jains, (P. T. S. Iyengar's Hist. of India, p. 199) which implies that it was used by the Jains wherever they were. From the foundation of the Vikrama era all traditions connected with it were specially preserved in Jain Literature. Prof. Sten Konow mentions "an Indian tradition, which has been handed down in the Jain work Kalakācharya Kathanaka. There we learn that "the king of Ujjaini, Gardhabilla abducted the sister of Kalaka who went to the country of Sagakula (Sakas) and prevailed upon some of the chiefs to accompany him to Hindugadesa (India). They proceeded to Ujjaini where Gardhabilla was made prisoner. A Saka chief was made over-king. After some time however Vikramaditya the king of Malwa ousted the Sakas and became king, whereafter he established his own era" (EI XIV 293). Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar in an address on Vikramaditya on the occasion of the 2nd millennium celebration at Madras in March 1944, also observed "Jain tradition goes further and makes him the son of a ruler of a principality who was overthrown by the barbarian hordes of central Asia." With reference to these facts we can infer what happened in 627. A party of Jain monks who heard that the Chalukya Pulekesin II conquered the Andhra desa and installed his brother as its ruler and who knew that Ayyanamahadevi the brother's wife had a leaning towards Jainism proceeded to the east coast to establish a Jain mutt and obtained through her influence a grant of the village Mushinikunda for its upkeep. For the grant there was no written record. In the time of Vishnuvardhana III the then heads of the mutt approached him for a copper-plate grant. It may be that a confirmatory grant became necessary on account of boundary disputes with the surrounding villages. They got the

old grant recited in the new plates and got its date mentioned as 684 in the language of the era with which they were familiar, just as an Englishman would mention the Christian era in mentioning the date of an event. This inference is consistent with all the known facts.

I now proceed to give an analysis of the contents of the plates.

The first face describes the glories of the Chalukyas and gives the genealogy of the grantor of the plates. The second face begins by saying that he proclaimed 'as follows for the information of all.' Then follows a sentence beginning with 'svadita' and ending with 'dattam' on the second face of the 2nd plate. The following facts are contained in the sentence:—

1. Donors—Kubjavishnuvardhana and his wife Ayyanamahadevi.
2. Donee—Kalibhadracharya residing at Nadumbivasati at Bezwada.
3. Village granted—Musinikunda of Tonkanatavdivishaya.
4. Date of grant—684 margasira 2 dvadasi.
5. Mode of grant—Udaka purvam.

It may be noticed that the only predicate in the sentence is 'dattam'. The subject of this predicate is "Sri Kubjavishnuvardhana maharajasya tasya priyavallabah Ayyanamahadevi." The 'svadita' etc. form an adverbial phrase governing the predicate 'dattam'.

Then follow the boundaries of the village. At first the boundaries on the four cardinal points are given and then the boundaries on the four corners (south-east etc.). The boundaries end on face 2 of the 3rd plate. This is followed by a curse on whoever interferes with these boundaries. Then follow the usual imprecatory verses common in inscriptions 1. Svadattam etc. 2. Shashti varsha sahasrani etc. 3. Bahubir vasudha etc. 4. Yasya yasya yadha bhumi etc. The extent of the land in the village is described as capable of sowing 30,000 kodrava seeds. The last face mentions Ayyanamahadevi as the *ajñapti* and says that the Sasanam was 'ankitam' to Kntjavishnuvardhana maharaja.

Contents of the Plates.

Plate 1.—Face 1.

1. Svasti śrīmatām sakalabhuvana samstūyamāna (māna) vya
sago
2. trānam harithiputrānām Kousikivaraprasāda labdha rājyānām
3. Swāmi mahāseṇa padānudhyātānām mātrigana paripālītānām
4. Bhagavannārāyaṇa prasāda samāsādita vara varāha lā
5. nchhanānām asvamedha yajinām Chalukyānām kulamalan-
karishnoh
6. Sri Vishnuvardhanamahārājasya pautrah Sri Mangiyuva
7. rajasya priya tanayah svasidhāra namita ripu nripati

Face 2.

1. makuta padita mani kirana rāga ranjita charana
2. yugalah pārama brahmanyah mātru pitru padānudhyātah
3. Sri Vishnuvardhanamahārājyah sarvajñāpayati vidita
4. n astu vo Svādita māggasirsha māsa bahula
5. dvādasi pūrvāhna paramaswa īśva padānvayāla
6. ta na travitha dhapaladesa thu hridaya da Sri Kavv
7. rūri gana sanghānvaye surastu gane sri Chandra Prabhā

Plate 2.—Face 1.

1. chārya prasishya ravichandrāchārya praśishya ravi nandya
2. chārya Kamalabhadraāchārya praśishya davanandya chā
3. rya yā ashtanga divyajñāna vaśīkritā śeṣha nripa
4. ti maṇḍala Srimat Kalibhadraāchāryayā srimad
5. dā rhata manavarata pūja pravannotayā śrī Tonka
6. natavadi Vishaye Mushinikundakhya nāma grā
7. me Sri Kubjavishnuvardhana mahārājasya tasya

Face 2.

1. priyavallabha Ayyanamahādevi Bezavada na
2. dumbi vasatye Srimat Kalibhadraāchāryana udaka pūrvam
3. krutva sarva karavamja asmadāyurārōgya dharma yaśo
4. bhivridhaye dattam asmabhih asya grāme sima
5. simāni pūrvatah ara valapallama gatah da
6. kshinatah

sima āvadigatah Paschimatah vraungura

PHOTO-PRINTS OF THE PLATES.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पांडुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 बभूवुः पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 बभूवुः पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 बभूवुः पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 बभूवुः पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥
 बभूवुः पाण्डुपुत्रो पाण्डुपुत्रं धनुर्विद्वान् ॥

PLATE 1-FACE 1

[illegible]

PLATE 1-FACE 2

[illegible]

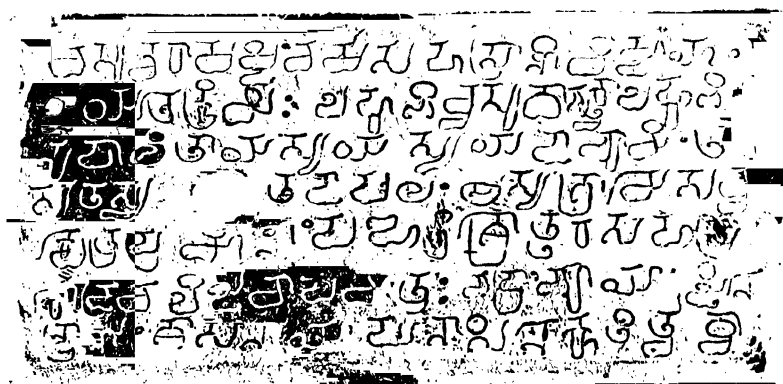


PLATE 4-FACE 1

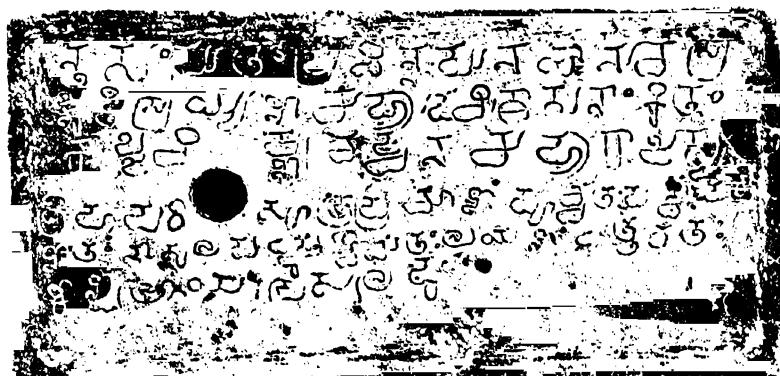


PLATE 4-FACE 2



Plate 3.—Face 1.

1. isimavādigathah. uttaratah rācheruvula
2. chillarā pallavusimāvadigathah. Evam chatur
3. ravadiparyantha asya grāma simānivididi dikshu
4. simāni. agneyatah virigunda
- 5.
6. sasimāvadigathah. Nairithi dikshu rāvadi ravi
7. gunda si

Face 2.

1. māvadigatah. vāyavadikshu rāvadi diggi rana
2. simavadiyatah. Isāna dikshurāvadi mulla
3. Donka podalu simāvadigatah. evam chiddikshu
4. chatuṛāvadi paryantham asya parinaka
5. bādhām karoti sa panchama pātaka samyukte bhavati
6. asya grāma
7. nasthi Vyase noktbah svadattah paradattam vā yo harethi

Plate 4.—Face 1.

1. vasundhara shashti varaha sahasrāni vishtāyām
2. jāyathe krimih bahu bhir vasudhā dattā bahubischā
3. nupalitā yasya yasya yadā bhūmibi tha
4. sya thasya thadā palam asya grāme sarva
5. kshetra pramānam paucha thrim shrottara sahasra
6. kodrava bijavapa mātthrah. Chandrūnvayā
7. ndrānām sāsānāya

Face 2.

1. ntha sambhūtham ā
2. jñapthi Ayyanamahādevi sāsānam kitham
3. Kubjavishnuvardhana mahārājasya
4. suthra pramana purvathah bandbah dakshi
5. natthah nasala bandbah paschimathah ayanah uttharathah
6. kondilāya desa ledu

DARDIC AND DRAVIDIAN.

(By Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Ph.D., L.T., Anantapur).

From Dardic to Dravidian is a very distant echo, as distant as the Hindūkush is from the Indian ocean. And yet, a comparative study of the two will open before us the whole vista of the expansion and development and establish the inseparable kinship of almost all prominent Indian languages. The vogue set up by Rev. Caldwell about the middle of the last century has taken such a fast hold of the minds of the students of Indian Philology and entrenched itself to such an extent that it will seem a hazardous and an uphill task to try to unsettle what many think unthinkingly to be a settled fact. But I propose in this paper to take the risk and try to find out what the facts, brought to light since the time of Caldwell, lead us to conclude on the affinities of Dravidian with other Indian languages generally and with Dardic in particular.

Sir George Grierson has made us familiar with the Dardic group of languages as the modern representatives of the old Paisāci prākṛits and by doing so has opened for scholars a new field for investigation.

We know of the old Paisāci only through the Prākṛit grammarians, but the information they furnish on the subject is very meagre. Paisāci, with its variety, the Cūlikā Paisāci, is disposed of by them in a few rules and is illustrated by not more than half a dozen examples, as by their time the Paisāci traditon must have been forgotten. Yet tradition tells us that there did exist an extensive literature in it as evidenced by references to the Bṛihat-kathā of Guṇādhyā and the later Samskrit adaptations of the same. It is unfortunate that this old Paisāci literature is now beyond our reach. We are left to surmise about its nature from what the grammarians have said about it.

There are two schools of Prākṛit grammarians, the Eastern which follows Vararuci and the Western which follows Vālmiki. Vararuci wrote the Prākṛita-prakāśa and Bhāmaha, a Kāshmirian wrote a commentary on it, so that it may be said that the Eastern school was favoured by both the Easterners and the Westerners

alike. Of Vararuci's followers Rāmaśarma Tarkavāgiśa who wrote the *Prākṛitakalpataru* and Mārkaṇḍeya hailing from Orissa who wrote the *Prākṛitasarvaśva* are the most prominent. Of these, Mārkaṇḍeya is later to Rāmaśarma as he quotes from the *Prākṛita-kalpataru*. Rāmaśarma quotes in his turn from the *Prākṛita-kāmachēnu* written according to him by Rāvaṇa who is probably identical with Laṅkēśvara who wrote a commentary on the same work under the name *Prākṛitalaṅkēśvara*. Mārkaṇḍeya also refers to the works of Śākalya, Bharata, Kōhala, Vararuci, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja and others. Of these, we know little of Śākalya and Kōhala except through the quotations from them in the above work. Bharata is, of course, well-known. Vasantarāja wrote the *Prākṛitasanjivani*, a commentary on the *Prākṛitaprakāśa*. He is quoted not only by Mārkaṇḍeya but also by Vāsudēva who commented on the *Karpūramañjari*.

The Western school set up by Vālmiki had Trivikrama, Lakshmidhara, Simharāja and Hēmacandra as its followers. Of these, Trivikrama wrote the *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa*, Lakshmidhara, the *Shabdabhāṣācandrikā*, Simharāja, the *Prākṛita-rūpāvatāra* and Hēmacandra the *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa*.

These two schools, the Eastern and the Western, differ in their description of the various *Prākṛits*. Apart from the very many minor differences that they exhibit, they do not agree on the fundamental division of words into *gaṇas*, and on the treatment of the Paisāci dialect especially, they contradict each other on vital points. The Paisāci of Vālmiki could not certainly be that described by Vararuci. While Vālmiki said that only Skt. *d* changes into *t*, the Vararuci school said that all the third and fourth letters in each *varga* are changed respectively into their corresponding first and second letter in that group. The Paisāci as described by Vararuci is no doubt referred to in the Vālmiki school but is given the name of Cūlikā-Paisāci and is dismissed with just three rules, regarding it as a minor variation of the main Paisāci. Not one of the seven kinds of Paisāci described by the Vararuci school corresponds with the Paisāci of the Western school. Hēmacandra gave some examples for the rules he laid down, but did not indicate wherefrom he had taken them. It

is surmised that they must have been taken from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*.

The Prākṛit grammars of both the schools were written at a time when those Prākṛits had already ceased to be spoken dialects and attained a fixed literary shape. The bases for those grammars were therefore the Prākṛit *kāvya*s themselves and not the colloquial dialects. The Easterners, however, showed greater skill and insight in the utilization of the Prākṛit *kāvya*s. They took particular care to indicate the sources from which the several examples were taken, which the Westerners failed to do, leaving us to guess the sources thereof. That is why the grammars of the Easterners are accepted as better authorities.

The six Prākṛits known as the *Shatbhāṣas* or literary languages must have existed in varying dialectal forms, though very little is known about them. Of the literary Prākṛits, too, very little indeed is known of the Paisāci. Some consider Paisāci to be a single language, while others mention the Cūlikā Paisāci as a separate language. Mārkaṇḍeya distinguished it into three varieties—the Kēkaya, Śaurasēna and Pāñcāla—as being the literary Paisāci *par excellence*. Out of the eleven varieties, as he said, into which it is generally classified by others, namely, Kāncidēśiya, Pāṇḍya, Pāñcāla, Gauḍa, Māgadha, Vṛācāḍa, Dākṣhiṇātya, Śaurasēna, Kaikaya, Śabara and Drāviḍa, Lakṣmīdhara distinguished Paisāci into two varieties—the Niyata-paisāci, i.e. that spoken by the Pisāca people outside the borders of their original home wherever they happened to live, and Pisāca-dēśiya-paisāci or that spoken by them in their original home. He considers Pāṇḍya, Kēkaya, Bāhlika, Simha (Sahya), Nēpāja, Kuntala, Sudēśhṇa, Bhōja, Gāndhāra, Haiva (Haima), and Kannōjana (Kānyakubja) as the homes proper of the Pisāca people. Of these, Lassen thought that Haiva is the Tuḷuva country. Bhōja is considered to be another name for Bōḷa, which is identified with Tibet. Sudēśhṇa is not yet finally identified. The rest are well-known. Rāmaśarma-tarkavāgiśa also distinguishes eleven varieties of Paisāci which he enumerates as (1) Kēkaya, (2) Śūrasēna, (3) Pāñcāla; (4) Gauḍa, (5) Māgadha, (6) Vṛācāḍa, (7) Sūkṣmabhēda, (8) Bāshāviśuddha, (9) Ardha-śuddha, (10) Chatuṣpāda-viśuddha and

(11) *Aśuddha*. Of these, the first seven are *śuddha* or pure and the rest are mixed. Of the mixed Paisāci dialects, there may be as many as 55 varieties according to him.

Grierson considered that the Paisāci dialects are local varieties of the Pāli because on no other hypothesis could the language of Bōṭa outside India and the languages of Pāṇḍya and Drāviḍa of the extreme South be brought under the same category. Pāli is based on the Māgadhī and is influenced by many Indo-Aryan dialects. In some respects, it has acquired the characteristics of Paisāci. Takshaśilā which according to him was the original home of Pāli is in the Kēkaya country and the Kaikēya Prākṛit is generally regarded as the standard Paisāci.

The Āndhra (Telugu) language has long been considered by the Telugu grammarians to be a derivative of Paisāci and some times as Paisāci itself. Traditionally, Guṇāḍhya wrote his *Bṛhat-kathā* in the Paisāci dialect at the court of Śātavāhana, the Āndhra king. The language of the Buddhist *Aṭṭakathā*, written in the Āndhra country, has many Paisāci peculiarities. There is the closest affinity and resemblance between Pāli and the language of the Prākṛit inscriptions of the early Āndhra kings. If it was the Āndhra language of those times, influenced in various ways by contact with other Prākṛits, that evolved into the present Āndhra or Telugu language, it will not be unprofitable to investigate into the relation between Āndhra and Paisāci. Unfortunately, we have very few examples left to us of the ancient Paisāci in the Prākṛit grammars. We have therefore to make an independent investigation into the Paisāci character of the Āndhra language in particular and of the other Dravidian languages generally with the help of the statements made about Paisāci in the Prākṛit grammars, and by a comparison with the Dardic languages to all of which Grierson has rightly given the name of Modern Paisāci.

The Aryan family of languages is included in the general Indo-European. Aryan includes (1) Iranian (Erānian) and Erāno-Indian languages and (2) Indo-Aryan or Samskr̥tic Indo-Aryan languages. Of these, Iranian consists of (i) Persian and (ii) Non-Persian Iranian. The modern Paisāci languages come under the latter group. They include (i) Pashai, spoken in the area of

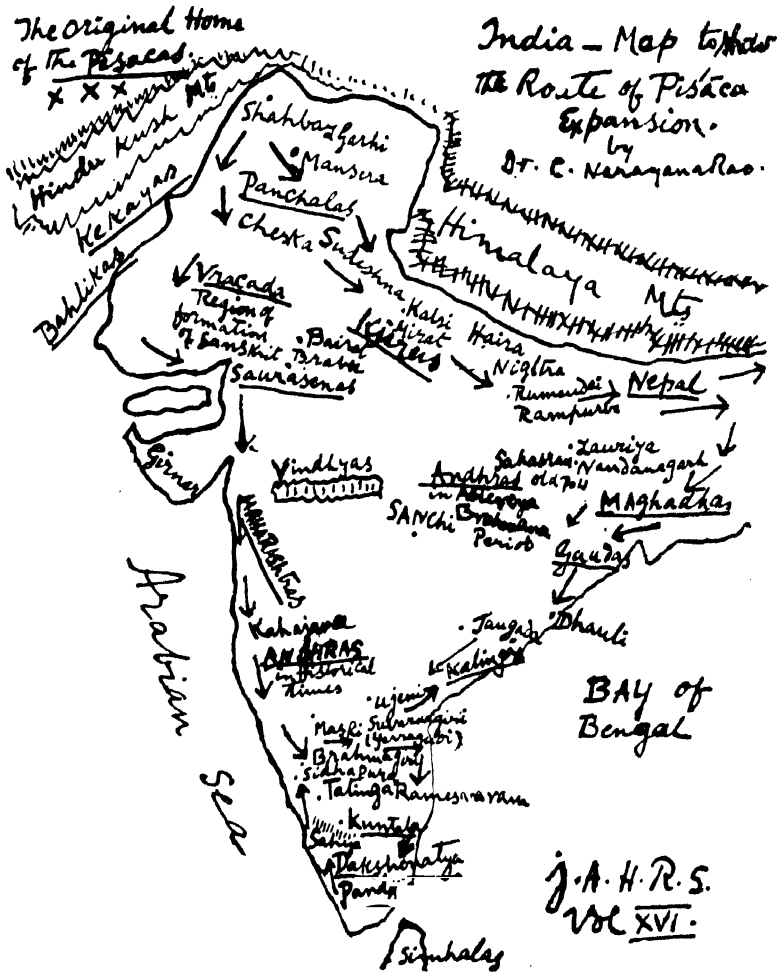
Laghman in Afghanistan, (ii) certain Kaffir dialects, of which Bashgali, Wai and Kalāsha are the most important, (iii) Khowar, the language of Chitral, (iv) Shina, the language of Gilgit near to where Khowar is spoken.

Shina is the basis and is closely akin to Kāshmiri which lies to the extreme south of the Dardic group of languages, to the Pāisāci dialects which are being fast overwhelmed by Pashtō and to the various mixed dialects of Swat Kōhistan. Khowar is an independent language. There are at least five of the Kaffir dialects, but there are wide differences among them. Of these, Wasin-Veri, spoken in the extreme West agrees in many phonetic particulars with the Mañjāni, a purely Iranian dialect. All the above Pāisāci languages are now spoken within a territory surrounded on three sides by the Hindukush mountains in the North-west of India. This, Grierson considers, is the original home of the Pīsācās, from where they expanded and migrated into India.

This opinion of Grierson is well supported by the statements of the Prākṛit grammarians who must have been acquainted with Pīsāca tradition. Markaṇḍēya mentions Kāñci, Pāṇḍya, Pāñcāla, Gauḍa, Magadha, Vṛācaḍa, Dākshinātya Śaurasēna, Kēkaya (Kaikaya), Sabara and Drāviḍa among the regions where Pāisāci is spoken, and of these, that spoken in Kēkaya, Śaurasēna and Pāñcāla are the standard dialects. Ramaśarma-tarkavāgiśa gives Kaikaya and Chaska (?) as the main divisions of Pāisāci and considers that the impure Pāisāci dialects are formed by changes in the phonetic character of Māgadhi and other Prākṛits. Lakshmi-dhara mentions Pāṇḍya, Kēkaya, Bāhlika, Simha(ḷa), Nēpāla, Kuntala, Sudēshṇa, Bōṭa, Gāndhāra, Haiva and Kannojana as the countries where Pāisāci is spoken.

If a Map is drawn indicating the countries named above, we may arrive at an idea as to the possible route of the advance of the Pīsācās in the course of their expansion in India. From the map attached hereto, it will be seen that they must have moved along two distinct routes. It will also be seen that they always preferred to move along the foot of mountains, their natural habitat,

Please vide P. 54 (Dardic and Dravidian.)



while the Aryan expansion proceeded along the courses of the great rivers.

As the Bāhlikas and the Kōkayas happen to be the chief Piśāca tribes, let us for convenience call these routes the Bāhlika and the Kōkaya routes respectively. The Kōkayas seem to have proceeded along the base of the Himālayas through Sudeshṇa, Haiva(ma) and Nepal into Bōṭa where, being prevented by high and precipitous mountains, they turned south and occupied Magadha. From there, one branch of them migrated into Gauḍa, while another expanded along the northern edge of the Vindhya into the region which in later times was known in the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa as the home of the Āndhra, Mūṭiba and other tribes. This Āndhra branch of the Piśācas expanded west as far as Nasik and turning south through the mountain passes overran South India as far as Kuntala. While this was going on, the Bāhlikas moved south along the west across Chaska, Vrācada and Śaurasēna as far as Nasik where they met their former kinsmen represented by the Āndhra branch of the Kōkayas. From here, this amalgamated group spread in various directions in South India and almost overran it. Some went into Kannojana and thence into Kuntala. Some proceeded as far as Kāñcī on the east coast and from there turned south, forming the Dākṣiṇātya, Pāṇḍya and Simhaḷa groups of the Piśācas. Those who reached the extreme south again turned north along the base of the Western Ghats into Sahya where they met the Bāhlikas who descended south from Nasik. This, in all probability, was the way in which the whole of South India came to be occupied by the amalgamated Piśāca tribes. Those who remained north of the Vindhya stuck to the foot of the Himālayas in the north, to Magadha in the east and to the west of the Indus on the west.

All this must have happened long before the schism between the Aryans and the Iranians on religious matters took place in their common original home in Central Asia, and before the Iranian dialects assumed a shape independent of the Vēdic, and before the advent of the Aryans into India. This, according to Grierson, is to be inferred from the nature of the Piśāca dialects which indicate a stage later than the Vēdic and earlier than the Iranian.

The Piśācas, though essentially the worshippers of Asura or Ahura seem to have evolved the deity of Rudra in his distinctively Āsuric form and worshipped him not only in the form of an image but also as an amorphous *linga*. The discovery of *lingas* as well as of images of Rudra on these ancient sites coupled with the use of seals and other remains on which the bull forms an emblem confirms this view. The worship of the *linga* seems to have been looked down upon with special disfavour by the Vedic Aryans to which they gave the contemptuous name of 'śiśna-dēva' though as a measure of reconciliation, they had perforce to admit even this Rudra into their pantheon as can be seen from the later hymns of the Ṛigvēda.

The existence of the Brāhūis on the N.W. Frontier with so-called Dravidian affinities in their language sheds much light on the Piśāca problem. The Brāhūis are now a mixed population drawn from the Scythians, the Tartars, Arabs and Iranians, but the sub-stratum of the original Piśācas is still there and has to be interpreted in the light of such information as is left to us in the Vedas. The clue for such an investigation is to be found in the mention of the Paradas by Manu. The word 'Parata' or Parada is clearly a Paiśāci form of Bharata and is connected by Oppert with the modern Paravar of Mahārāshṭra and the Parheyas of Palamān. Whether this identification is correct or not, it is certain that the Paratas or Paradas of Manu are to be identified with the Bharatas of the Vedas and the Purāṇas.

We learn from the Ṛigveda that Sudāsa was the king of the Tritsus. Ten tribes were ranged against him in battle, of whom the Bharatas were the most prominent. This reveals at once the nature of this tribe as antagonistic to Aryan domination. Viśvāmitra was at first the high priest of the Tritsus, but later came over to the side of the Bharatas. This, again, is an indication of the challenge to the Aryans from within their own fold and the schism that was brought about. The Kuśikas, the tribe to which Viśvāmitra belonged were closely allied to the Bharatas. Guided by Viśvāmitra, the Bharatas reached the bank of the Vipāśā and Śutudru. These rivers seem to have been at that time the boundaries between the Aryan and Piśāca regions.

They were then in high flood but the prayers raised to them by Viśvāmitra made them provide a way for the Bharatas to cross them. Sudāśa, of course, was the victor, having been helped by the sage Vasishṭa, the rival of Viśvāmitra as priest. This story is very significant and the mention in the Purāṇas of the descendants of Viśvāmitra as *vrātyas* or apostates and the description of Viśvāmitra himself as an antagonist of Aryan customs and manners provides us with an insight into the state of things regarding the Iranian Piśāca tribes in India during that age.

In Purāṇic times, the Bharatas appear to have merged themselves in the Kuru race. According to the Mahābhārata, the progenitor of the Kuru race was Bharata, as he was of the Bharatas also. But the Bharatas as a race were no longer remembered. The Kurus began to be called the *Bhārata-vamśa-vardhanas*, those who continued the race of the Bharatas. Śākuntala, the mother of Bharata, was born to Viśvāmitra, the Iranian, and Mēnakā, the Aryan lady and was bred up in Aryan *dharma* in the hermitage of Kaṇva and married Dushyanta, an Aryan king. This story shows how the Aryan and Iranian tribes got themselves fused once more in later times. The Brāhmins, the Paravars and the Parhēyas may be the degraded descendants of the ancient Bharatas, the Paratas and the Paradas. The civilization brought to light on the sites of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa may probably represent this Bharata, Parata or Parada culture, which may, in its turn, be equated with the Piśāca culture. The key to the writing on the coins, seals and tablets that are being discovered on these sites is not yet found, and I suggest that it is worth while proceeding on the lines postulated above to arrive at a correct estimate of the civilization brought to light on these ancient sites.

So far, a resume has been made of the researches made in this field by scholars like Grierson and others supplemented by such connecting links as I could find in the course of my investigation. There is naturally much of speculation in the process, especially as it is a matter concerning things which have occurred in the very distant past of which only traces are left to us. In fact, the construction of ancient history can proceed only on

these lines, but the basic data are unmistakable and can point only in the way indicated above.

We now tread on surer ground because we enter on an age which provides us with records in the shape of inscriptions. These come from about 2,000 years ago, which may be regarded as only yesterday when compared with the tens of thousands of years that must have elapsed since the events previously alluded to had occurred. I am referring to the inscriptions of Aśoka whose date is comparatively well determined, but whose interpretation cannot yet be said to be finally settled chiefly in regard to their dialectal and linguistic affiliations about which there has been much groping in the dark.

In the beginning, scholars began with the assumption that the Aśokan inscriptions may be Pāli records as Pāli was the language of the Buddhist scriptures and the Girnār set of the rock edicts seemed to record a language which approached Pāli very nearly. In Pāli, however, conjunct consonants were always assimilated and scholars did not suspect the possibility of the existence of conjuncts of dissimilar consonants. This led to many misreadings of the records until the Dhauli edicts and the pillar inscriptions were discovered, which varied from one another as in the substitution of nominative singular form in 'a' instead of those in 'o' regularly formed in Pāli and of the existence of 'l' where one expected 'r' as in Pāli. So, when these peculiarities were noticed, scholars assumed that the language of the records was Māgadhi, as these phonetic phenomena were peculiar to that of Prākṛit. The discovery of Aśokan edicts at Shābāzgarhi and Mansehra, however, soon unsettled this hypothesis as they revealed the existence of purely Samskr̥it words and so introduced fresh complications in this linguistic speculation. They were at first dismissed as Sanskritisms due to the scribe's knowledge of Samskr̥it. But this could be said of the Girnār edicts too which contained similar Sanskritisms. So, it was now postulated that the edicts may contain more or less local archaic dialects influenced by Samskr̥it in various degrees rather than by Pāli or Māgadhi. Soon, a more detailed examination of the records was made both as regards phonetics

as well as grammar, and as a result, it was assumed that the original records were composed in the language of the royal court at Pāṭaliputra and translated into the various local dialects of the places where they were respectively to be engraved. This was considered to be the Eastern dialect which affected those found in other regions. Sometimes it was possible that a Māgadhism was introduced in certain records due to the acquaintance of the local royal officer with the court dialect at the capital. Perhaps, it was also due to the prevalence of Māgadhī forms in the different places or simply to a scribal error. Thus, after a long process of shifting from one hypothesis to another, it is now generally assumed that the Aśōkan records may be broadly divided into two groups, the Eastern and the Western, and though a very minute and detailed examination was made of the dialectal variations, it was abandoned as futile, as no definite thread could be discovered which could bring the various dialects into a systematic and continuous whole.

To my mind, however, the investigation is worth pursuing. The hypothesis of two groups of dialects, the Eastern and the Western, has, however, to be given up. There is no use skipping over the difficulties that confront us by lightly dismissing them as Māgadhisms or Sanskritisms. To me the variations in phonetics and grammar of the language of the several edicts appear to be perfectly explainable on the supposition that they represent the state of the several Prākṛit dialects at the time they were inscribed in the several places where they were discovered. There can be no question of an original version of the edicts written at the royal court. A close examination of the language of these edicts will show that no two records however close the places where they are found, agree with each other. There are remarkable differences, for instance, between the edicts found at Shābāzgarhi and Mansehra, though they are very close to each other, and between those found at Dhauḷi and Jaugāḍa, Maski and Brahmagiri, Bairāt and Gīrnār, Sārnāth and Kāśi, Rūmmindei and Lauriya. Again, in such an investigation, our attention need not be confined to the Aśōkan edicts alone. There are other Prākṛit records in the Brāhmi script found at other

places in India even as far south as the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa countries. These could not be far removed in time from the records of Aśoka. From a tentative study of all these records, I have arrived at a hypothesis that there is a demonstrable continuity about them, the language of one record of one place slowly and steadily developing linguistically into that of the next contiguous place. One can also perceive that the places where these several Brāhmi records are found lie continuously along the route of the Piśāca expansion in India. This hypothesis, I submit, has the merit of being very close to the happy, intuitive suggestion of Grierson that the Paiśāci dialects are local variations of the Pāli language. Whether we have to take Pāli as the basis of the Paiśāci dialects or not, they do not correspond in any way with the standard classical Prakṛit language other than the Paiśāci or the Cūlikā Paiśāci registered by the grammarians. On the other hand, it can be shown that the language of the Brāhmi Buddhist records resembles in a broad and general way and even in details to the Paiśāci and Cūlikā Paiśāci of those grammarians. That the Brāhmi records with very few exceptions are concerned with Buddhism which has diverged from the Brahmannic Vedic religion lends additional colour and weight to this hypothesis. The fact, again, that the modern Indian languages now being spoken in those very regions exhibit Paiśāci characteristics to a remarkable extent provides further confirmation of the same.

But this is not the place for a detailed presentation of my theme. I reserve it for another paper. I shall proceed with the main subject of the present thesis.

Formation of Non-Paisaci Prakrits.

After the Piśāci Iranians entered India and became well settled, they absorbed within their fold many of the original native tribes with whom they should have fought in the beginning but gradually cultivated friendship with them. It was at this time that the Aryans entered India in their turn. It was also the time when the Vedic hymns were being composed. By then there were already great differences between the languages of

the two old rivals and the fresh rivalry for supremacy in the new territory was reflected once more in their religious outlook too. The wars that ensued are described in the *Ṛigveda* and their results were varied. Anyway, the migrations of both continued. The Aryans marched along the course of the Ganges and occupied and settled in the Gangetic valley as far as Magadha. This is the region where the Samskr̥t language was formed, differing from the Vedic in certain important respects. The Piśācas were by then already in possession of Magadha, having arrived there by another *route* along the foot of the Himālayas as far as Nepal and then south downwards when the new Aryan tribes again came into conflict with them. This was followed by a fresh amalgamation of their languages, resulting in the formation of new dialects, the Māgadhi dialects which formed the basis of the literary Māgadhi described by the grammarians. This was the region also where in later times the language of the royal court at Pāṭaliputra was raised to the position of a literary language under the name of Pāli. It may be that Pāli was already formed in the N.W. Frontier of India round about Takshaśilā where Buddha was a student and being adapted to the writing of the Buddhist scriptures continued to be used as the language of books during the Mauryan period in Magadha.

The Piśāci dialects as modified in Magadha moved on with the mixed tribes along the Vindhya and formed the language spoken by the Āndhras and other tribes who inhabited the Vindhya region during the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Bāhlika Piśācas, in the meanwhile, were advancing south along the Indus still following the track of the mountains until they reached the present region of Gujarāt, the Śaurasena country. This country gave the name Śauraseni to their language. The Śauraseni dialects, modified in various ways and degrees by Samskr̥t led to the formation of the literary Śauraseni Prākṛit of the grammarians. The Kekaya Piśācas from Magadha and the Śaurasena Piśācas contacted about the region of Nasik and their languages amalgamated with the local dialects to form the various Mahārāṣṭri dialects which, in course of time, formed the basis of most of the South Indian languages, especially of Marāṭhi, Telugu

and Kannaḍa. The people speaking these dialects lived as a homogeneous race for a long time in a compact region while a branch of the same early went eastwards as far as Kāñci. The march of this branch was almost unimpeded as far as Kanyākumāri. In time this branch moved into Simhala. The language of these people developed peculiarities of its own, the most prominent of which being the change of all aspirates and sonants into voiceless unaspirates and the sonantization of inter-vocalic and post-nasal sounds. This was the language of the Tamilians, originally called Aravas both by themselves as well as by their neighbours, the Telugus and the Kannaḍigas. The phonetic peculiarity of the language must have given the name to the tribe as well as to the region where they finally settled in the extreme south of India. This process of de-aspiration in their language must have come about by the easy conditions that obtained in the non-mountainous areas which they occupied in their march. The name Tamil for the language and the race might have come in at a later time. In time, this branch of the Piśācas who reached the Cape turned north along the west coast by the route of the Western Ghats where they met their original brothers from the north who descended down from Nasik and helped to form the Malayāḷam language.

As stated above, Marāṭhi, Kannaḍa and Telugu formed one language at one stage. As time went on, however, the Kannaḍigas and the Telugus who had greater affinities seem to have separated themselves from the Marāṭhas who stuck to their original home and developed their own language, Marāṭhi. Till about the sixth or the seventh century A.D. Kannaḍa and Telugu seem to have remained as dialects of the same language, but with the rise of literatures in them, they attained independent existence, though for a long time before and after the fifth or the sixth century, the two languages were regarded by the surrounding people as almost identical and synonymous under the common name Vaḍagu.

One thing which has to be particularly noted about these South Indian languages to which Caldwell gave the wrong appellation of Dravidian is that they were merely spoken dialects till

about the 6th or the 5th century A.D. They were certainly Prākṛits as can be seen from the inscriptions which were till then in the Prākṛits of the time prevalent in the respective regions. This gains further confirmation from the fact that there is not one dated inscription in any of these so-called Dravidian dialects containing a form of language which approaches anywhere near the modern forms of the same.

We have thus traced this long process of the expansion of the Paisāci languages in India from the Hindukush to Cape Comorin and described their mutual interplay and influence amongst themselves and other dialects with which they came into contact in the course of their expansion and settlement. In this process, some of the features of these Paisāci dialects have become diffused, but in certain areas we still find certain characteristics in full play giving a distinctive character to them. This is not confined to a few languages alone but persist in most of the modern Indian dialects both northern and southern lying along the Paisāci route of expansion as described above. What those ancient Paisāci characteristics are will now be referred to with brief notes specially with reference to the same in the so called Dravidian dialects.

Paisaci Characteristics in Dravidian Dialects.

(S. Samskṛit; P. Paisāci; C. P. Cūlikā Paisāci; K. P. Kekaya Paisāci; H. Hemacandra; PP. Prākṛita Prakāśa; P. R. Prākṛita Rūpavatāra; P. S. Prākṛita Sarvasva; Tel. Telugu; K. Kannaḍa; Tam. Tamil.)

1. S. jña; P. ññ; S. prajñā; P. paññā; S. samjñā; P. saññā; S. sarvajñaḥ; P. Sarvaññō; S. jñānam; P. ñānam; S. vijñānam; P. viññānam; (H. S. 4. 303; P. P. V. 9 jñ P. ñj; P. S. p. 124, K. P. the change is optional; P.K.K.P. the change is compulsory.)

In Tel. P. ññ further changes into my and yy. S. samjñā; P. saññā; Tel. samyā(ṭa), a play by means of signs, signals or symbols, also sayyāṭa; S. Sarvajñaḥ; P. Sarvañña; Tel. Saravayya, Sarayya, names of persons; S. ājñākāra; P. aññākāra; Tel. āyakāḍu.

changed to māḷā, śālā, viśālā etc. So also, within Tel. itself, l and ḷ are not always interchangeable. dzallu does not become dzallu, and krullu does not become krullu.

7. S. ś and sh, P. ś.—S. śobhate, P. śobha-ti; S. śobhanam, P. śobhanam; S. śaśi, P. śaśi, S. Śakraḥ, P. Śakko; S. viśamaḥ, P. viśamo; S. Kṛishṇaḥ, P. Kiśano; etc. (H. 8. 4. 309, P. R. XX. 6. P. S. p. 123.)

This change of ś and sh to ś is a common feature of Magadhi, Śaurasēni and Paisāci.

In Tam. ś, sh, and s are changed to ś and then to c initially in combination with all vowels. But in Tel. they are changed to s, which in turn may change to dental ts or dz when combined with the vowels a, ā, u, ū, o, ó, ai, and au and to palatal c when combined with the vowels i, ī, e, ē.

8. S. hridayam, P. hitapaka according to H. (S. 4. 310.) Example: 'kimpī kimpī hitapake atthaṃ cimtayamāne.' This is supposed to have been taken from Guṇāḍhyas Bṛihatkāthā. P. S. p. 124 and P. K. say this change is confined to K. P. But P. P. and P. R. say hridayam changes to hita 'akam (P. R. XX. 11.)

9. S. ṭ interchanges with t in P. Example: kutumbakam, P. kuṭumbakam.

In Tel. the interchange of t and ṭ is frequent. Examples: taṃguvaru, taṃguvāru; takkari, ṭakkari; takku, ṭakku; tāṭoṭu, ṭāṭoṭu; etc.

Sometimes ṭ is found where K. has t. Example: K. mātu, Tel. māṭa; K. etta, Tel. eṭa; etc.

10. The incomplete past participle sign -ktvā of Skt. becomes -tūna in P. Examples: S. gatvā, P. gaṃtūna; S. ramitvā, P. raṃtūna; S. hasitvā, P. haṣitūna; etc. P. K. and P. S. give -tūnam instead of -tūna for S. -ktvā.

Tel. -tū, and kan. -ta, -tta, and -ttā have a present continuous sense in the colloquial dialects. These forms must have been adaptations of P. -tūna and -tūnam with a change in signification. This may be confirmed by the classical forms Tel. -taṇ,

Kan. -tum (-tun?) which have a n. The Tel. classical form in -tsun may be said to be a dialectal form adapted for literary purposes in the central Andhra districts, or perhaps from the Brahmanic slang. The -tūna, and -dūna of P. is certainly the basis for the Kan. past incomplete participles in -tu and -du.

11. S. *shṭvā*, P. *tthūna*, *tthūna* and *ddūna*: Examples: S. *nashṭvā*, P. *naddhūna*, *natthūna*; S. *tashṭvā*, P. *taddhūna*, *tatthūna*;

In Kan. roots ending in -ḍu and -ru form their incomplete past participles in -ṭṭu. Examples: *paḍu*, *paṭṭu*; *biḍu*, *biṭṭu* etc. In Telugu, these participial forms of Kan. in -ṭṭu have themselves been regarded as roots.

12. S. *rya*, P. *riya*. S. *Bhāryā*, P. *Bhāriyā*. In K.P. a long vowel preceding *rya* is shortened. Example: *bhāryā*, *bhari'a*. This is also the case in the Śauraseni *Paśāci*.

In Tel. and Kan. this change is very common. This sort of *vikarsha* of conjunct consonants occurs with respect to some other combinations also. For example, S. *sna*, P. *śina*; S. *shṭa*, P. *ṣaṭa*.

13. S. -iya in *kyap* forms becomes *yya* in P. This change is particularly noticeable in Tel. in forms arising out of roots ending in -yu. Examples: *cōyabaḍu*, *ceyyabaḍu*, *giyabaḍu*, *giyabaḍu* etc.

14. The d in forms like 'yāḍṛiśa, tāḍṛiśa, etc. is changed to t in P. Examples: S. *yāḍṛiśa*, P. *yātiśo*; *tāḍṛiśa*, P. *tātiśo*, etc. In such places the same words are used in Tel. with ṭ instead of t. Cp. *aṭṭi*, *iṭṭi*, *eṭṭi*.

15. The 3rd person, present tense verb of S. in -ti and -te is found in P. as -ti. In Mhr. it is found as -di. Cp. 3rd person, present sg. verbal forms in -di and -du in Telugu and -ti and -tu in Kan. Though verbal forms in -tu and -du in Kan. occur in connection with inanimate objects or living beings other than man, forms like 'bantu' etc. show that they were originally not so confined in their use.

16. S. -at (fifth case sign), P. -ātu. Ex: S. *dūrāt*, P. *tūrātu* etc. Cp. Fifth case forms in -Kan. in -de, -nde, -dim, etc.

17. S. r, P. l. This change is very common in Tel. and K. Examples: cirika(ciluka); vaḷr(l)angi, tar(l)amu, por(l)imār(l)-nuten, paṇḍir(l)i; &c.

18. S. jja, P. cc. Perhaps, cca is dental. S. kārya, P. kacca. Cp. Tel. kratsta (kayyāla-kratsta.) from S. kārya.

19. ri of S. becomes i in P.; so also in Tel. Examples: Griham, Tel. giṃu; S. Kṛitti, Tel. kitti; S. mṛiti, Tel. mitti etc.

20. S. termination 'yak' P. -yya. The same change occurred in Tel. but such forms became roots once more in it.

21. Ay is added to S. words c in P. Example: chala, P. y-chala. Beames and Hoernle think that the addition of y in such cases is only a device to indicate in writing the dental character of those sounds. This surmise seems to be quite correct and accounts for many forms in dental c and j.

22. S. t in kṛita, mṛita etc becomes ḍ; P. ṛita, P. kaḍa; S. mṛita, P. maḍa. Cp. Tel. kaḍa(tsu), maḍi(yu), etc.

23. S. dḍha, P. ttha, and sometimes tṭha. Cp. S. paddhati, Tel. paṭṭu, etc.

24. S. Nom. sg. s, P. e. -Cp. K. Nom. sg. forms in e.

25. In Pāṇcala and Gauḍa Paisāci r and l interchange. So also in Tel. Cp. S. kātara, Tel. kāvara, kāvala(mu) etc.

So far, the special characteristics of Paisāci as laid down by the Prākṛit grammarians are given with such affinities as could be found of the same with similar changes in the so-called Dravidian languages. Hemacandra and others, while expatiating on these special features of Paisāci, have also said that in other respects, Paisāci follows the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit. The changes peculiar to Mahārāṣṭrī are also very commonly found in the South Indian languages, so that the thesis that the Dravidian languages are only varieties of Prākṛit and not independent of them can be easily demonstrated. As there is no question at all about the Prākṛitic character of the North Indian vernaculars and as thus the Northern and Southern languages of India come

into very close relationship through their common connection with Prākṛits, a way is made clear for working out the hypothesis of the fundamental linguistic unity of India in the same way as such unity, social, cultural, economical and political.

Coming back to the Paisāci, we shall in passing, refer to the Cūlikā Paisāci mentioned by Lakshmidhara and others of the western school of Prākṛit grammarians. This variety of Paisāci does not seem to be so important, considering the meagre information that the grammarians have chosen to give about it. Below are given the three rules found in the grammars regarding this Paisāci.

1. The 3rd and 4th letters in each consonantal varga change into the 1st and 2nd letters respectively. (This change is very common in the Dravidian languages.)

2. S, r, P, l, optionally. So is it in the Dravidian languages.

3. In all other respects, Cūlikā Paisāci follows ordinary Paisāci.

Having thus gathered at one place all the available information respecting the Paisāci Prākṛit, we are now in a position to proceed with the investigation of affinities of the Dravidian languages with the Dardic group, which Grierson has rightly named the modern Pisāca languages.

Of the Dardic languages, Kāshmiri comes first in importance. This corresponds in a way with the Cina and Parada dialects mentioned by the ancient grammarians. Next in importance comes the Khaskura of Nepal. The Nepāli is also mentioned as a Paisāci variety by the Prākṛit grammarians. Next come the Sindhi and the Pahanḍi which correspond to the Vrācaḍa of the *lākshapikas*. We shall deal with them in order.

1. KASHMIRI.

1. The harmonic sequence of vowels which is mentioned by Caldwell as being a prominent characteristic of the Dravidian languages is found in full play in Kāshmiri. The Kāshmiri has a system of mātra-vowels which in all respects resemble the

neutral vowels occurring at the end of many Dravidian words. These mātra-vowels, namely a, i, u, and ū change all the vowels which precede them so as to be in keeping with themselves. Caldwell has pointed out that while such a process is common to all the Dravidian languages, it is found in full play in Telugu.

2. Kāshmiri does not have gh, jh, ḍh, dh, and bha, the voiced aspirates. Instead of them, only ga, ja, ḍa, da and ba are found. Example: S. Ghoṭaka Kāsh. guRu. (Cp. Tel. guRḥamu.)

3. As in Hindi, Kāshmiri makes little use of the cerebral sounds. Instead of them, only the corresponding dental sounds are used. This is true of the Dravidian languages also.

4. In Kāshmiri there are no palatal ca, cha and ja. They occur only with a dental pronunciation as tsa, thsa, and dza. Ex: S. coraḥ, Kāsh. tsūr. Telugu shares this characteristic with Kāshmiri along with some other modern Paisācī idioms. S. cala-yati, Kāsh. tsali; S. jalam, Kāsh. dzalam, etc.

5. S. ś, sh, and s change to h in Kāshmiri as in the Iranian. Such a change took place in Telugu also, but the h so formed was turned into g at a later stage of its history.

Examples: S. vilas, Tel. *vilah(*vlag), velugu; S. shas, Tel. *hāru Cp. Tel. ūru; pada(hāru) etc.

6. Kāshmiri has no grammatical gender. It has only natural gender as in the Dravidian languages.

7. In Kāshmiri, the genitive case sign is -ku as in Telugu.

8. In the verbs, the persons are denoted by the addition of pronouns or pronominal particles.

9. There are negative forms of the verb in Kāshmiri as in the Dravidian languages. That is, the negative verb is formed by an internal change in the verb itself instead of by the use of the separate particle *na*. This is true not only of the finite verb but also of incomplete verbal forms.

10. The agglutinative character of the verb which Caldwell mentioned as the special characteristic of the Dravidian verb is very prominently seen in the Kāshmiri verb. Example: karu,

was done; karum, was made by karu-m-akh, you are made by me; karu-m-akh-ā ? -were you made by me ? etc.

11. In Kāshmiri, the gerundial infinitive is formed by the addition of the particle -un. This corresponds to Tam. and K. -um and Tel. -an.

12. The passive in Kāshmiri is expressed by the addition of a separate word as in the Dravidian languages and not by an internal addition of a passive sign as in Sanskrit. Example: karava-yivān-tsuḥ, (Cp. Tel. cāya-vaitsu-tsunhadi.).

2. Khaskura.

1. This is the chief language of Nepal, which is included among the Piśāca countries by the Prākṛit grammarians. In this language also, masculine and feminine genders are expressed by the addition of masculine and feminine suffixes, two verbs.

2. -like -tsu in Telugu, -tsu derived from the root *ach is used to denote the present tense. We may compare this with Tel. -tsu, -tu, -tū; K. -su, -ta, -tta etc.

3. As in the Dravidian languages, all final long vowels of Sanskrit are shortened in Khāskura.

4. Medial vowels are elided in this as in Kāshmiri and the Dravidian languages.

5. The genitive case sign in Khāskura is -khe. Compare this with K. gen. case sign -ke and -ge.

6. In Khāskura the nominative plural is formed by the addition of the plural particle -ru as in the Dravidian languages. Example: Sg. dēva pl. dēvaru. The particle -ru is a plural sign (epicene) in Dravidian as in this idiom.

3. Sindhi and Lahandi.

1. In Sindhi, all the words must end in vowels as in Telugu and Kannaḍa. These final vowels are heard however much an attempt is made to elide them. The harmonic sequence of vowels

and the elision of medial vowels in words is found in this as in Kāshmiri and the Dravidian languages.

2. All conjunct consonants in Skt. were assimilated and became doubled in the Prākṛits. In the modern Aryan languages, one of these doubled consonants is lost and the preceding vowel receives compensatory lengthening. In Sindhi, however, the doubled consonant is preserved just like in the Dravidian languages.

3. As in some other North Indian languages, medial *d* in Sindhi changes into *r*, which Caldwell, without much thought, considers to be a peculiarly Dravidian sound.

4. As in the ancient Vṛāṇa and the Dravidian languages, there has been much confusion between the dental and the cerebral sounds in Sindhi.

5. In Sindhi, *t* and *d* in combination with *r* changes into *ṭ*, and *ḍ* respectively. Example: S. *putri*, Sindhi 'puṭṭru. This has to be specially noted as it affords a clue to one of the possible sources of the cacuminal *R* which Caldwell considers to belong only to the Dravidian languages. The change is not one of *t* to *ṭ* in combination with *r*, but one of regressive assimilation of *putra* into *purra*, which on account of its doubled nature is heard as a cacuminal *R*. This *RR* still preserving the *t* in pronunciation is heard as *ṭ* and sometimes changes into *ṭṭ*. This process of change is not thus confined to the Dravidian languages alone.

6. In Sindhi, all the original Skt. case terminations are lost by the various changes in sounds. Only the genitive case ending is preserved and even this is not a case ending as such, but a corruption of the Skt. word *kṛite*, found in Mhr. a *ka* & *e* and in Apabhraṃśa as *ka-ahi*. This case sign *-khe* which has amalgamated with *-kho* which once served the same purpose might have been a corruption of Skt. *kṛit* through Apabhraṃśa *ka-aham*.

7. There is a close resemblance in the gerundial, present and past participial, adjectival, and incomplete past participial

forms between the Dravidian languages on the one hand and Sindhi and Lahaṇḍī on the other. Examples:

	1st conjugation		2nd conjugation	
	Sindhi	Lahaṇḍī	Sindhi	Lahaṇḍī
Gerundial	halanu Tel. cēyanu	halan Tel. cēyan	māraṇu Tel. tsampanu	māran Tel. tsampan
Pr. part. adj.	halando Tel. ceyutsunna	haldā Tel. ceyutsunna	marindo Tel. tsam- putsunna	marendo Tel. tsam- putsunna
Past part. adj.	halio Tel. poyina	hale'a Tel. poyina	māri'o Tel. tsampina	māre'a Tel. tsampina
Incom. p. part.	hali Tel. poyi	hali Tel. poyi	māre Tel. tsampi	mari Tel. tsampi

Particulars about the rest of the modern Paisāci languages are not available so as to enable us to compare them with the Dravidian. The plural termination -gaḷ of Baluci and other languages of that region may, however be mentioned here. Examples: Mengaḷ, the men people. -en, as the name of the people occurs in the Behistun tablets. So also cp. Bashgaḷ, the Bash people, and so on.

So far, the Paisāci characteristics of the Dravidian languages have been pointed out. Of them, Andhra or Telugu exhibits them to a greater extent than the rest. It must not, however, be supposed that when we say that Telugu is an -off shoot of Paisāci, it accords with Paisāci in all respects; in fact, such a complete demonstration is impossible in the matter of the derivation of one language from another. The development of language is a very complex affair. It is affected in various ways by all the languages with which it comes into contact in the course of its history and its original character may be very much blurred. Still in the case of Telugu, its original Paisāci character can be detected to a fairly tolerable extent along with that of the other Dravidian languages.

THE PURI SANAD OF JANOJI BHONSLE.

*(Sri Lakshmi Narayana Harichandan Jagadeb Rajabahadur,
Puratatwavisaradu and Vidyavachaspati,
Raja Sahib of Tekkali).*

I have secured some old sanads from Sri Ranganath Deb Goswamy of Puri who is a descendant of Probhu Nityananda, a contemporary of Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu of Navadvipa. In those sanads I find two sanads presented by Janoji Bhonsle. This is one of the two sanads. It was presented to Sri Basu Deb Goswamy, the ancestor of Sri Ranganath Deb Goswamy, a descendant of Probhu Sri Nityananda, by Janoji Bhonsle on the 27th Sapher 1162 Hizira (the Muhammadan Era) which corresponds to 1743 A.D. This sanad was written on a hand-made paper 10½" long and 5" broad, scripts being written on either side of it in black ink. On one side of it, there are written six lines in the Sikhaista (Old Urdu) language and script, and on the other side, there are six lines in the Modi (Marathi) language and script. It was written on the other side, from the opposite direction independently, that seven years after the sanad was given, that is, on the 1st day of Rabi 1169 Hijira (the Muhammadan Era), the above sanad was confirmed. At the top of the sanad is written in the Urdu Script, the name 'Sri Lakshmikant' i.e., Sri Jagannath (Lord Vishnu). In the beginning of the first line of the Urdu Script, that is, to the right side, the seal of Janoji Bhonsle is stamped and at the end of the script, the name of writer of the Maratha script written in Sanskrit is stamped in the octagonal form.

After the death of the Maratha leader Sivaji in the year 1680 A.D., his son Sambaji and grandson Sahu, were arrested by Aurungajeb. After the death of Aurengajeb, Moghul Emperors became very weak rulers. Taking advantage of it the ministers of Sahu, became the rulers of Maharashtra as Peshwas. The whole of India was under their sway. The successors of Sahu came to be known as Bhonsles. After the death of the second Peshwa, Baji Rao, his son Balaji Rao became the Peshwa in 1740 and he was the rightful heir to the throne (Maharata).

Raghuji Bhonsle established his claims by conquering central Provinces. When Baji Rao I, son of Balaji Peshwa, was conquering Malwa a part of Moghut Empire, Raghuji Bhonsle attacked Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In the war that took place between Balaji and Raghuji, Balaji with the help of Ali Vardikhan defeated Raghuji and according to the treaty he (Raghuji) became the ruler of Nagapur, and collected Chauth (Taxes) from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Balaji Peshwa was reigning as the ruler of the whole of Maharashtra. Till the British conquest of Maratha Kingdom in the year 1803 A.D. Orissa was under the sway of the Bhonsles of Nagapur. Sivobhataasamant Roy was collecting chauth from Bengal, according to the orders of Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagapur. After that, as the first Subadar of Orissa for full eight years, his reign was quite happy, peaceful and prosperous. At that time, Sri Birakesor Deb was the ruler of Orissa. After Raghuji, his son Janoji Bhonsle staying at Nagapur, collected taxes from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In his time, the Subadars of Orissa were Sibobhat, Ubimen Sahu and Udayapur Goswamy.

This sanad is an order issued by Janoji Bhonsle to Sri Basu Deb Goswamy, the preacher of the Goudiya faith, to collect taxes from the Gadjats and Mahals. This is in exact accordance with the sanad issued before to the above said Basu Deb Goswamy, the Mantra Guru (Prime Priest) of the Utkal ruler Sri Birakesor Deb, who (Goswamy) was a descendant of Lord Sri Chaitanya's friend, Probhu Nityananda and preacher of Gowdiya Sampradaya. In the seal of Janoji Bhonsle a Sanskrit sloka in Sanskrit script of five lines was written with his father's name giving his achievements. The reading of the seal is as follows :—

रघुवीरसुत स्यैषा जितशाम्भोवलीयस ।

जानोजीर्मां सलेनाम्नो मातिशुद्धा यसस्करी ॥

Meaning:—This is the glorious seal of Raghuji's son Janoji, the strong, who defeated Sambhaji. At the top of the Sanad, the name of Vishnu is written and as this Sanad speaks of the homage that the Maratha rulers paid to Sri Basu Deb Goswamy, the preacher of the Gaudia faith, it is presumed that the Maratha Rulers were

great devotees of Lord Vishnu. The Madala Punjee (Diary) of Puri Temple gives detailed information of the riches and lands given to Lord Jagannath at the Purushottam Kshetra by the Peshwas and Bhonsles. The Sanad of 1162 Hijira was repeated in the year 1169 Hijira with a little modification, and a true copy of it was kept in the Office of the Subadar. In this Sanad three lines are written in the Bengali language and script. As Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, were under the sway of Bhonsle, the Officers under the Subadar of Orissa were Muhammadans, Bengalees, Biharees and Oriyas. Hence, the Officers had written their opinions, here and there, on the Sanad in Urdu, Bengali and Oriya.

P.S.—I acknowledge with thanks the help rendered to me by the Curator of the Hyderabad Museum in this matter.

Reading of the Marathi Text (Sanad).

श्रीलक्ष्मीकान्त ।

(Sri Laxmi Kanta)

of

Glory to the Lord Laxmi (Vishnu)

Reverse.

1. अमल बिल इस्तकबाल चौधरियान
2. कानगोयान प्रांतसुबे वशेसा सुरुष
3. न ११६७ अकी खोरात वासुदेव गुसा
4. ई याजकडे बेरागीव वसव वगैरे जेते सुद
5. देत्तात ते अमल माफक देने जाणिजे
6. माहे सफर मोर्तबसुदः ॥

मोर्तबसुद

Translation:—Beraji and others who pay interest to Basudeb Goswami should pay it as usual. In the province of Sube Orissa through Chowdari and Kannungos.....
2nd safar sealed.

Translation of Persian Portion.

1. Faijdarau, Uhdedaran and Choudhriyan.....
.....may know.
- 2-4. That in accordance with the Sanads issued by previous
Officers.....
.....(Certain Revenues) which have been
mentioned on the reverse of this sanad, have been
restored to Basva Deb Goswami, so as of old.
5. These revenues.....
.....
6.should be
given to him.
7. This (order) should be strictly observed 27th Safar
1162 A.H.

Reverse.

1. An endorsement is to be made and a copy of this to be
retained.
 2.
 1.Basva Deb Goswami.....
.....which were granted.
 2. And Muhals in accordance with the Sanads issued
by previous officers have been restored.
 3. This was received in the Office on 7th first of Rabi 1,
1169 A.H.
-

The Puri Sanad of Raghavji at the time of the Maratha rule in Orissa.

*(Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb Rajabahadur,
Puratatwavisarada and Vidyavachaspati,
Raja Sahab of Tekkali).*

I have gathered some old Sanads from Sri Ranganath Deb Goswamy of Puri a descendant of Prabhu Nityanando of Navadwipa who was a contemporary of Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Among them, I found a sanad which was granted to Brojodeb Goswamy, the ancestor of Sri Ranganatha Deb Goswamy and the 'Mantra Guru' of the ruler of Orissa in the Hijira year 1203 corresponding to the Cuttack or Orissan Year 1202 (1795 A.D.) when Raghavji was the Ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

It was written on an ordinary hand-made paper $18\frac{3}{4}$ " long and $5\frac{1}{4}$ " broad upon which, leaving three inches at the top and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the paper to the right are written in Black Ink eleven lines of Sikastha or old Urdu script, and below them, twelve lines of Marathi script and at the top of the sanad there is a line in Maratha Script.

At the time the Maratha power was at its zenith, under authority of the Peshwa, Bimbaji and his son Raghavji were collecting Chauth from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Raja Ram Pandit was a Subadar under Bimbaji's father Ragnji who was a descendant of Sahu the grandson of Sivaji. The octagonal seal of Raghavji, the ruler is to the right of the first line of Urdu script in the Sanad and the seal of the writer is at the end of the Maratha script. On the reverse of the Sanad, the Orissa Governor's Officer who had presented this Sanad had written in Urdu Script that he had seen this Sanad and kept a copy of it. This old paper-sanad has been a little eaten away by the white ants at the end.

This Sanad is an order from Broja Deb Goswamy to his servants that his men getting ghee, grain, oil etc., from Gadajats

and Mahals for his temple at the Purushottam Khetra (Puri) should be allowed free without any tax. As Brojo Deb Goswamy, a preacher of Chaitanya cult, was the Mantra Guru of the rulers of the Gadajets and Mahals, Raghvaji promulgated an order that he, Brojo Deb Goswamy, may get all goods without tax from Gadajats and Mahals. This indicates that Raghavaji had faith in Chaitanya cult. In the (Seal) of Raghavaji, the then Maratha ruler, a Sanskrit sloka consisting of six lines is written in Nagari script. From the language and the diction of sloka, it is conjectured that Raghavji, the successor of Sri Sahu was the Maratha ruler of Orissa.

Reading of the Seal:—

श्रीसाहजराजपदाम्भोज भ्रमरायितचेतसा

विंवात्मजस्यमुद्रैषा राघवस्य विराजते ॥

Meaning:—The sanad bears the seal of Raghavaji whose mind always flies like a bee to the lotus feet of Sri Sahu and who is the son of Bimbaji.

At the time of the reign of Raghavji Bhonsle in Orissa, Raja Ram was the Subadar of Orissa. Probably Maratha kings were devotees of God Vishnu. That is why at the top of this Sanad is written 'Sri Lakshmikanta' in Maratha script. Here, Sri Lakshimikant refers to Lord Jagannath. The Maratha kings were devotees of Lord Jaganatha also. As this Sanad was presented to Sri Broja Deb Goswamy, the 'Mantara Guru' of the then ruler of Orissa Sri Debyo Singh Deb and the preacher of the Gaudia Faith, by the Maratha ruler, it is clear that they were great devotees of God Vishnu.

This Sand was written by A Urdu writer on the 2nd day of the second Jamadi 1203 of the Muhammadan Era.

When the Orissa ruler Sri Debya Singh Deb was the ruler at Khurda, Raghavji Bhonsle was collecting taxes from Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, staying at Nagapur. To collect this tax, Raja Ram Pandit was appointed as the Subadar of Orissa, which after him came under the administration of British in 1803 A.D.

SANAD.**Reading of the Marathi Script.****श्रीलक्ष्मीकान्त**

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. दस्तक राहदारी सरकार | 2. सुभे कटक प्रान्त बडोसा |
| 3. घुरस न १२०२ सालकटकी | 4. खजदेव गोसांवी नित्या |
| 5. नेद बसयाचे मठश्रीपुर | 6. सोत्तम क्षत्रांत आहेत |
| 7. त्यात मकसक ऊन यांचे | 8. हर किसमजिनस येतील |
| 9. त्यास कोगही घर धोकी | 10. व.....न होतासे |
| 11. बून देणें जानिजे छ २ मा | 12. हे.....मोर्तब |

मोर्तबसुद**Translation.**

From the government of Cuttack Province Orissa in the Katak year Sahu San 1202. Braja Deb Goswamy and descendant of Prabhu Nityananda have abbeys (Maths) at Jagannath Puri (Sri Purushottama Khetra) various articles are likely to go to them from Gadajats and Mahals. Those should be allowed to pass untaxed.....2nd of the month.

Seal.

P.S.—I acknowledge with thanks the help given by the Curator of the Hyderabad Museum in this matter.

SANAD.**Translation of the Persian Text.**

1. To Rahadars, Guzarbans, Chaukidars.
2. Mustabifzan of the Roads and highways, from Thana Malwahi Rajghal.
3. Bandar Maler, The commodities and rasad including corn rice.....Ghee, Oil, belonging to Broja Deb Goswamy.....resident of Purushottama Khila, which may be brought from other Muhals or Forts.

- 7-9. Need not be taxed with Rahadari etc., and not be interfered with or detained. It should pass through their jurisdictions safely.
10. This should be strictly observed and acted upon.
11. On the second of the month of Jamadi 1203 written; fair copied by Ali.

Reverse.

(The reverse contains two endorsements).

1.seen.
a copy to be retained.
 2. A copy was received in the Office on the 11th (?) of the month of Jamadi 11.
-

**A Deed of permanent property granted by Sir W. Bentinck
Governor-in-Council of Fort St., George, to Camadana
Sobhanadry Rao, Zamindar of Charmahal.**

(Sri K. J. Gopal Rao, B.A., B.L.)

Sunudi Miltent Istemdar or Deed of permanent property granted by the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, on the part of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies to Camadana Sobanadry Rao, Zamindar of Charmahal.

It is known to the Zamindars, Talukdars, Meerasidars, Ryots and cultivators of land in the territorie, subject to the Government of Fort St. George, that from the earliest until the present period of time, the public assessment of the land revenue has never been fixed, but that according to the established practice of Government, the assessment of the land revenue has fluctuated without any fixed principles for the determination of the amount; and without any security to the Zamindars or other persons for the continuance of a moderate land-tax. On the contrary frequent enquiries have been instituted by the ruling power whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, for the purpose of augmenting the assessment of the land Revenue, and it has been customary to regulate such augmentations by the enquiries and opinions of the local officers appointed by the ruling Noveb for the time being. In the attainment of an increased revenue on such foundations, it has been usual for the Government to deprive the Zamindars and to appoint persons on its own account to the management, of the Zamindaries; thereby reserving to the ruling power the implied right and actual exercise of the proprietary possession of all lands whatever. It is obvious that such a mode of administration must be injurious to the permanent property of the country by obstructing the progress of agriculture, populations and wealth; and destructive to the comfort of individual persons by diminishing the security of personal freedom and of private property.

2. The British Government impressed with a deep sense of the injuries arising to the state and to its subjects from the

operation of such principles has resolved to remove from its administration so fruitful a source of uncertainty and disquietude; to grant to Zamindars and other land-holders, their heirs and successors, a permanent property in their land-holders, their heirs and successors, a permanent property in their land in all times to come, to fix forever a moderate assessment of public revenue on such lands, which shall never be liable to change under any circumstances, to institute Courts of Judicature for the protection of these valuable rights and to secure to every description of its native subjects under the operation of fixed and defined laws, the free exercise of the religious institutions, and domestic usages of their ancestors.

3. In conformity to these principles the assessment of your Zamindary has been fixed at Star Pagodas (24,000) Twenty-four thousand from Fusly 1213 to Fusly 1214, and at Star Pagodas (27,000) Twenty-seven thousand from Fusly 1215 to Fusly 1219, and at Star Pagodas (31,000) Thirty-one thousand from Fusly 1220 to Fusly 1221, and from the commencement of the Fusly 1222 has been fixed at the annual sum of Star Pagodas (34,820) Thirty-four thousand eight hundred and Twenty, shall be fixed, and is hereby accordingly declared by this Sanud to be the permanent annual Jummah of your Zamindary payable in the current coin of the Province in fixed monthly instalments, agreeably to the separate Distbandy signed by you.

4. This permanent assessment of the land tax on your Zamindary is exclusive of the Revenue derived from the manufacture and sale of salt, and salt petre, exclusive of the payer or duties of every description, whether by sea or land, the entire administration of which the Government receives to itself, exclusive of the abkary or tax on the sale of spirituous liquors, and intoxicating drugs; exclusive of the excise which is or may be levied on commodities or articles of consumption, exclusive of all taxes personal and professional, as well as of those from markets, Fairs, and Bazars, exclusive of hakheraj lands (lands exempted the payment of public revenue) and of all other alienated lands paying a small quit-rent (which quit-rent unchargeable by you, is included in the assets of your Zamindary) and exclusive

of all lands and russiaoms heretofore appropriated to the support of Police Establishments. The Government reserves to itself the entire exercise of its discretion in continuing or abolishing temporarily or permanently, the articles of Revenue included, according to the custom and practice of the country under the several heads above stated.

5. You shall regularly pay in all seasons the amount of the permanent assessment above fixed. The remissions which have occasionally been granted according to the custom of the country on account of drought, inundation, or other calamity of the season, shall now cease and never be revived, and if (which God forbid) you should fail to discharge your engagements, your Zamindary and your personal property shall be answerable for the consequence of such failure.

6. In this event your personal property will be liable to attachments in the first instance and your lands will ultimately be liable to be sold and transferred from you for ever, for the payment of the public revenue. But under the moderate terms of the assessment on your Zamindary, this event can never happen except in consequence of your own default; for the Court of Judicature will protect you against such an injury, unless warranted by your failure.

7. You shall be at free liberty to transfer, without the previous consent of Government or of any other authority, to whomsoever you may think proper, either by sale, gift, or otherwise your proprietary right in the whole or in any parts of your Zamindary, such transfers of your land shall be valid, and recognised by the courts and officers of Government, provided they shall not be repugnant to the Mahomadan or Hindoo laws, or to the Regulations of the British Government, but unless such sale, gift, or transfer shall have been regularly registered at the office of the Collector, and unless the public assessment shall have been previously determined and fixed on such separated portions of your Estate by the Collector, such sale, gifts or transfer shall be of no legal force or effect; nor shall such transaction exonerate you from the payment of any part of the public land tax assessed on your

entire Zamindary previously to such transfer; but your whole Zamindary shall continue to be answerable for the total land tax, in the same manner as if no such transaction had occurred.

8. In the event of the sale of any part of your Zamindary for the liquidation of arrears of the assessment, or in satisfaction of the decree of a Court of Judicature; or in the event of the transfer of any part of your Zamindary by gift, sale or otherwise, you shall furnish the Collector with true and correct accounts of your entire Zamindary, and of the portion of your Zamindary to be so separated, for a period not less than the three years preceding such sale or transfer, in order that the due proportion of the public revenue may be fixed thereon. The assessment to be settled in the separated parts of your lands, shall always bear the same proportion to the actual produce, of the separated portion, as the total permanent Jummah on your Zamindary bears to the actual produce of the whole Zamindary, so that if the accounts to be furnished by you should be correct, as partial assessment can happen nor any increase of the fixed Jummah be ever made, under whatever changes or improvements, your interests or your pleasure may lead you to introduce into the Zamindary.

9. Although you shall have free right and liberty to transfer by sale, gift, or otherwise, any part of your Zamindary not repugnant to the regulations of Government, yet it shall not be competent for you, nor for any Zamindar to form any part of your lands into a separate estate paying its Jummah directly to Government, unless public assessment on such separate estate shall amount to the annual Five Hundred Star Pegodas (500) and

10. In order that you may at all times be enabled to comply with the conditions of the 8th Article of this Sunnud, by which you are bound to furnish true and correct accounts of your Zamindary when required by the Collector, you shall support the regular and established number of Curnams in the several villages of your Zamindary. The Curnams shall be appointed from time to time by you, and shall obey all regular orders issued by your authority, but they shall not be liable to be removed from their offices, except by the sentence of a Court of Judicature. In the

event of your having, if your underfarmers, tenants, or ryots, having cause of complaint against the Curnam of any village for a breach of duty, you shall be at liberty to institute at your own peril a suit in the Adaulut of the Zillah, for the purpose of bringing such Curnam to trial and punishment, but in the event of your dispossessing a Curnam of his office without such previous regular process, you shall be liable to make such satisfaction for the injury as the Adaulut of the Zillah may decree. Where a Curnum may be dismissed from his office by the sentence of a Court of judicature, you shall in the first instance select a successor from the family of the last incumbent, provided any member of that family shall be capable of the duty of Curnum, but if no member of it shall be capable of discharging that duty, you shall exercise your discretion in the appointment of a proper person. The name of the person appointed to succeed shall be reported to the Collector.

11. The Government having charged itself with the maintenance of the peace of the country will defray the entire expense of that establishment. You shall nevertheless aid and assist its officers in apprehending and securing offenders of all description; and you shall enquire and give notice to the Magistrates of all robbers or disturbers of the public peace, who may be found, or who may seek refuge in your Zamindary.

12. You shall enter into engagements with your ryots either for a rent in money or in kind; you shall within a reasonable time grant to each ryot a patta or cowle clearly defining the amount to be paid by him and explaining every condition of the engagement; and you shall grant or cause to be granted regular receipts to the rents for all discharges in money or in kind made by them to you, or for your account. If after the expiration of a reasonable period of time from the execution of your document you shall neglect, or shall refuse to imply with the demand of your under-farmers, or ryots for the pattahs and receipts above mentioned, you shall be liable to be sued in the adaulut of the Zillah, and you shall also be liable to such damages as may be decreed by the Adaulut to the complainant.

13. The foregoing conditions contain an abstract of the objections and duties which you shall incur, and of the rights which you have acquired under the new constitution erected for the security, protection, and prosperity of the subjects of the British Governments. But for the enlargements of that constitution, and for the improvements of the condition of the people, the Governor-in-Council will continue from time to time to enact such regulations, as experience may suggest, or the progress of human affairs under necessary such regulations will be administered by independent Judges in constituted Courts of Judicature, governing their decisions by the Law only. The Decrees of those courts will be founded on the regulations of Government, printed, published, and translated for the information and security of its subjects, and on the institutes of the Hindoo or Mahomedan laws, which are also open to the enquiry of all persons; the proceedings of the Adaulut will be held in open courts accessible to persons of every description; all parties will be at liberty to attend to their own interest by their presence in the courts during such proceedings; or to employ their Vakeels with such instructions regarding the mole of prosecution or defence, as may appear to be most eligible to themselves; the sentences of the courts will be pronounced in the same public manner; and executed by Civil authority without interposition of the military force; the Collectors and other public servants of the Government will be compelled to appeal to the courts of Judicature for the adjudication of all cases, in which by virtue of their offices they may be parties; and finally, the greatest security has been extended to the native subjects of the British Government by the establishment of a gradation of appeals from the Zillah court to the Provincial Court; and from the Provincial Court to the Court of Sudder Adaulut at the Presidency, and in the last resort from the court of Sudder Adaulut to the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal.

14. Being therefore sensible of the benefits conferred on you by these institutions and confident of enjoying the fruits of your industry, you shall be punctual in your engagements with Government, you shall conduct yourself with good faith towards your ryots, whose prosperity is inseparably connected with your

own; you shall treat them with tenderness, encourage them to improve and extend the cultivation of the land, and lay the foundation of your own happiness in the permanent prosperity of your Zamindary.

15. Continuing to perform the above stipulations, and to perform the duties of allegiance to the British Government, its laws, and regulations, you are hereby authorised and empowered to hold in perpetuity to your heirs, successors, and assignees at the permanent assessment herein named, the Zamindary of Charmahal.

Given in Fort St. George this 14th day of November 1806 by and in the name of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council.

(Signed) WILLIAM BENTINCK,
H. FRODOCKS,
WILLIAM PETRICS,
T. OAKES.

Entered in the Secretary's Office.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council.

(Signed) E. C. GREENWAY,
Secretary to Government.

MALIK AMBAR AND THE PORTUGUESE.

(*B. G. Tamaskan, Esq., M.A., Dip., in Geography*)

In order to grasp and appreciate fully Malik Ambar's relations with the Portuguese, it is essential to make a preliminary survey of the latter's position in the Deccan during the early part of the seventeenth century. The Portuguese were the first nation to open up commercial intercourse with India during the Mediaeval period of Indian History. Relations between the East and the West in Indian antiquity had brought little contact between the two besides the exchange of trading commodities; for they were politically sterile.

The original motive of the Portuguese for coming to India was principally religious. A Portuguese Chronicle describes them as keenly desirous of bringing Christianity to "vast tribes lying under the wrath of God"¹, and to join hands with Prester John, the fabled Christian Prince of the East, in order to wipe Islam out of existence from the face of the earth. Closely interwoven with these religious motives were the hopes of national wealth and power resulting from commercial activities carried out in the East. The fall of Constantinople in the hands of the Turks, in 1453, led the Europeans to place the crusading motive in the forefront.

As they were resolutely determined to destroy Muslim states if they could possibly effect it, they set out as armed traders to India and the Far East. Supremacy at sea was the essential factor for their success in their commercial enterprise. Their vessels being larger and stouter, as compared to the Indian sailing crafts, could brave storms and rough weather in a better manner than the latter. The Portuguese could mount cannon on their vessels, the recoil of which would have shaken Indian vessels to pieces at the first discharge. They decided to avoid all extensive occupation of territory, to build forts only where needed to protect trade, but to maintain on the Malabar coast as large a squadron as possible and to appoint a periodical governor.

Inspired by religious fervour and fired with crusading spirit, the Portuguese sought to oust Muslim traders from the Indian waters. After several determined attacks on Muslim traders and states, the Portuguese succeeded in securing their objective and obtaining foothold on the Western coast of India first. Albuquerque (1506-1515) did not think it advisable to limit the position of the Portuguese commercial influence to the Malabar coast only, as it could make easily their position shaky. Its revenue would be inadequate, its forces small and its basis insecure. "If, however, the Portuguese boldly seized the strategic points from which the whole traffic of the Indian seas could be controlled, and if, moreover, they set up their headquarters in a city of their own, rich, populous, and strong, their revenue would be great enough to maintain an irresistible power, to feed the wealth of their mother-country with eastern exports."² Thus by slow degrees, the Portuguese supplanted the Muslims and the Venetian traders in the Indian seas as chief distributors of Indian commodities in Europe.

Their position was essentially that of a maritime dominion covering a commercial monopoly. It rested on the occupation of points, as already indicated above, by which seaborne trade must pass and the maintenance of a naval power enough to encounter and overthrow any sea power. From this point of view, Goa had excellent site and situation, which fell into their possession in February, 1510.

Besides Goa, the Portuguese had set up trading stations at Cochin (1503), Cannanore (1503), Chaul (1516), Diu (1535), Bassein (1558), and Daman (1559). Other Portuguese settlements on the Western coast were Salsette (styled "Sashti" "साष्टी" in Marathi), Dabhol, Thana, Caranjah, Bardesh Island, Cucullee, Verunda, Mangalore, Kranganore, Quilon and Honavor.³

Having established themselves firmly on the Indian soil, the Portuguese not merely conducted commercial activities but indulged freely in conversion of Indians into Christians. Their proselytising activities, at times, were marked by uncommon

2. Shorter Cambridge History of India, Vol. II, pp. 488-9.

3. J. N. Das Gupta: India in the Seventeenth Century, Appendix C.

cruelty and violence and, therefore, bitterly resented by the Indian rulers and their subjects. In 1623, it was reckoned that at Goa and other places there were twice as many priests as Portuguese laymen.⁴

For a period of 60 years from 1580 A.D. to 1640 A.D. Portugal remained under the sway of the Spanish emperor and naturally her colonial policy was dominated by the Spanish interests and subordinated to the imperialistic designs of the new conqueror.

The advent of the English and the Dutch in the Indian waters marked the end of the Portuguese monopoly of Indian trade. From 1612, the Portuguese power began to wane. Their corrupt officers, heavy demands on wealth and man-power of the nation, lack of character, morals and discipline, and mental stagnancy contributed to their rapid decline.

The tenures of the following Viceroys of the Portuguese were co-extensive with the regime of Malik Ambar⁵—

- (i) 1600-1604 Ayres de Saldanha succeeded Francisco da Gama.
- (ii) 1604-1606 Alphonso Castro (killed in action against the Dutch.)
- (iii) 1606-1608 Archbishop Menzezes.
- (iv) 1608-1609 Mendoza.
- (v) 1609-1612 Rui Lourenco da Tavora.
- (vi) 1612-1618 Dom Jeronimo d' Azevedo.
- (vii) 1618-1619 John Cutino.
- (viii) 1619-1622 Albuquerque.
- (ix) 1622-1627 Francisco da Gama.

Out of the Portuguese settlements mentioned above, only Chaul was within the territorial limits of the Nizamshahi kingdom till the year, 1625. Pietro Della Valle in his travels records that to the

4. Shorter Cambridge History of India, Vol. II, p. 498.

5. Rao Bahadur G. S. Serdesai, "British Riyasat" (पूर्वार्ध Vol. I), pp. 148-151.

south of Chaul lay the dominion of the Adilshahi sultan ⁶. Dabhol came under the sway of Malik Ambar towards the end of 1625 or early in 1626 A.D.⁷

Though Chaul was the solitary Portuguese possession in the Nizamshahi dominion before the capture of Dabhol, it was, perhaps, the leading trading centre on the Western coast of India. According to the description of the contemporary English people, Chaul was a good harbour and a strong place. (Foster, *English Factories in India*, Vol. III, p. 243)*. Thomas Niccolls describes Chaul to be extremely prosperous and famous for its imports, horse traffic, silk-weaving, wood-carving and lacquer works in the seventeenth century ⁸. The port exported to Europe, ebony and spices of the Moluccas, sandalwood of Timore, camphor of Borneo, fragrant gum (benzoin) of Java and Sumatra, aloes wood of Cochin-China, fragrant oil gum, spices, silks and toys of China, Japan and Siam, precious stones of Pegu, fine cloth of the Coromandal coast, valuable cloth of Bengal, spikenard of Nepal and Bhutan, diamonds of Golconda, steel of Nirmal (?), spices, precious stones and pearls of Ceylon, spices and vegetables of Malabar coast, lac, embroidery and precious stones of Khambhat (Cambay), shawls and carved pots of Kashmir, b'dellium (a kind of gum) of Sind, Catechu of Tibet, segapenum of Iran(Persia), and amber, ivory, precious stones, fragrant substances of Zanzibar.⁹ Many of these commodities were exchanged for Indian goods. The port also dealt in minerals and articles of iron, zinc, copper and bronze. Besides being a busy beehive of commerce, Chaul was an industrial centre as well where leather-work, bronze-work, dyeing and blacksmithy were carried on¹⁰. In short, Chaul had developed an extensive entre'pot trade under the Portuguese commercial influence. If Goa was the political centre of the Portuguese in India, Chaul was their commercial centre.

6. Travels, Pietro Della Valle, p. 72, dated April 4, 1623; P.S.S., 185.

7. Foster; Eng. Fact. in India, Vol. III, pp. 192-3 and p. 243.

* Murtizabad was its name at that time.

8. Prof. Pissurlencar's article in " Shivaji Sovenir " and English Records on Shivaji, Vol. I, p. 358.

9. Rao Bahadur G. S. Serdesai, *British Riyasat (पूर्वाधिक)* Vol. I, pp. 101-2.

10. Q.B.I.S.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 16 (Sh. Ch. S, Part IX).

The settlement of inhabitants at Chaul was controlled by the Portuguese and the adjoining hillock was also possessed by them. On it, a fortress named Korlai had been erected by them. Formerly, Chaul belonged to the Nizamshahi Sultan, but it was captured by the Portuguese by means of arms. It was, therefore, a well-protected place. The sway of the Nizamshahi Sultan extended over the surrounding territory adjoining the port¹¹. A little away to the north, on the other side of the bay, lay the Nizamshahi port of Reevadanda.

The following were Governors appointed by Malik Ambar in the province of Chaul in years mentioned as under:—

- (i) About 1605—Surur Khan (Q. B. I. S. M., Vol. XXII, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 288, Sh. Ch. S. V.)
- (ii) 1609 Abdul Karim.¹²
- (iii) 1618 Siddi Surul.¹³
- (iv) 1620 Siddi Yakut.¹⁴
- (v) End of 1623 or early in 1624 Habashi Khan.¹⁵

In addition to Chaul and Dabhol, over the island of Janjira the Nizamshahi Sultan held an unbroken sway, at least, during the regime of Malik Amar.¹⁶ It was a rocky island off the Konkan coast midway between the ports of Chaul to the North and Dabhol to the South. It never received any name. It was simply known as "Jazira", or the Island. This Arabic word was corrupted into "Janjira" by the Marathas, which serves as the name to this day.¹⁷ Malik Ambar made the enclosing backwaters a naval base for his fleet. Siddi Ambar was appointed Subedar (Governor) of Janjira in 1621 A.D.¹⁸

11. Pietro Della Valle: *Travels*, p. 72, dated April 1, 1623, P.S.S. 185.

12. Faria Souza: '*Asia Portuguesa*', Tome III, Part II, Chap. X.

13. B.G.G. Kolaba, pp. 435-36.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Foster: *Eng. Fac. in India*, Vol. III, Surat, CII, p. 521; dated Feb. 21, 1624.

16. Kincaid: "*A History of the Maratha People*", p. 155.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

18. Foster: *Eng. Fac. in India*, Vol. p. 296.

Be it noted that the history of Chaul is largely the history of Malik Ambar's relations with the Portuguese as his contact with them occurred mostly at that port. It is therefore necessary to deal with the history of this port at some length to bring out Malik Ambar's dealings with the Portuguese. These relations were mainly governed by the southward expansion of the Moghul Empire in the Deccan, the appearance of the English and the Dutch on the stage of Indian history and their dependence and reliance for commercial activities on the Moghul Emperor. Malik Ambar does not seem to have broken out openly with the Portuguese. He appeared to have maintained, to a large extent, as friendly and cordial relations as the circumstances permitted him to do so, and avoided causes of possible friction in most cases.

Before making a detailed analysis of the mutual relations and dealings between Malik Ambar and the Portuguese, it will do well to examine how the latter utilised their irresistible mastery on the Indian ocean. It is needless to point out that, after their establishment on the Western Coast of India, the Portuguese became the greatest maritime power in the Indian ocean. This ascendancy was exercised in a high-handed manner and relentless way and was jealously guarded. They compelled even friendly states to secure their cartaz or passports before sailing their vessels on voyages in the Arabian sea or other parts of the Indian Ocean. The friendly nations of Europe were accorded no better treatment as can be inferred from the accounts left by many adventurous travellers who were lured by the vague rumours of fabulous wealth of the gorgeous east in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

William Hawkins records ¹⁹ : "The next day, going about my affaires to the great mans brother, I met with some tenne or twelve of our men, of the better sort of them, very much frightened, telling me the heaviest news, as I thought that ever came unto me, of the taking of the Barkes by a Portugal Frigat or two and all goods and men taken, only they escaped.....It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the Portugal Frigata,

19. Purchas, "His Pilgrimes", Vol. III, pp. 4-5.

who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Major. The businesse, as I understood, was that the Governour should send me as prisoner unto him, for we were Hollanders. I understanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of England, and his answer was that *these seas belonged into the King of Portugall, and none ought to come here without his license*. I told him, that the King of Englands license was as good as the King of Spaines, and he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, and so tel your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of England, he is a base villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore." But neither the strong protests that the good Captain made, nor the 'kind' treatment he subsequently accorded to a Portuguese officer availed him much as he states: "before he (the Portuguese officer) departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for Goa."

The incident mentioned above occurred in 1608. After a lapse of three years the Portuguese admiral, a more polite man than Hawkin's acquaintance, would not suffer Sir Henry Middleton to enter the port of Surat. "The six and twentieth, between nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, having a gale of wind which brought us into the roade of Surat, we ridde by the three Indian ships in seven fathom. A mile from us ridde seven sayle of Portugall frigats or men of warre; there were thirteene more of them which were within the river of Surat; the Portugalls long before our coming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red sea, and bound for this place, so that these Frigates were purposely sent to keepe us from trade at Surat, or elsewhere, upon the coast. The Captaine Major* of them is called *Don Francisco de Sote Maior*, is intitled Captaine Major of the North, *he reaphth great benefit to himselfe by giving cartlasses or Passports to all ships and Frigats, which trade upon that coast. Any ship or Frigat which hath not the same passe are confiscate of lost.*²⁰

* Portuguese "Captain-Mor".

20. Purchas, "His Pilgrimes", Vol. II, p. 172.

With what rigour this rule was enforced can be best inferred from what Middleton observes next:

“The nine and twentieth, there came a small Portugall Frigat from the Admirall of the Armada (as they terme them) wherein was one Portugall and his Boy who brought me answeere of my Letter sent the day before from Captaine Major, wherein hee used some complements certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a king a friend, and he and his would be readie to doe mee service in anything he might, provided I brought a Letter or Order from the King of Spaine* or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him, he would willingly obey, if otherwise, he must guard the port he had in charge, where the King his Master had his factorie.”²¹ Even the Moghul officers dared not bolster up the cause of Sir Henry Middleton against the most arbitrary and unusual interference of the Portuguese.

On what terms these cartaz were granted and what obligations were imposed by them on the persons to whom they were issued, merit some consideration. For this purpose, a few typical cartaz are cited below for critical examination.

On the 9th August of 1613, a Cartaz was issued in favour of Adilshah (El Rey Idealxa) the Sultan of Bijapur and a contemporary of Malik Ambar, the Premier of the Nizamshahi Sultan. It reads as follows: “I Dom Joronimo d’Azevedo cause it to be known to all who may see it that in consideration of the ancient amity that El Rey Idalxa has with this state and by the terms of the treaty he has concluded (with us) licence and safeguard are granted to him to enable six of his ships to visit Mecca, Ormuz and other places, I have great pleasure in giving the present license and safeguard at the prayer of his ambassador to his Mamody (Muhammadi) by name, that carries four thousand Khandies (of

* %From 1580 A.D. to 1680 A.D. Portugal remained under the sway of the Spanish Emperor.

21. Purchas, “His Pilgrimes”, Vol. II, p. 173.

goods) of which Nacoda* is Melique Ambar† aged thirty years and has for her defence twelve seivels of iron, twenty muskets and many moorish weapons that go in it, so that she may start from the port of Dabhol where she is during the present monsoon for Juda and return to (Dabul) without taking or bringing any prohibited goods, to wit Greeks, Turcs, Abyssinians, Cinamon of Ceylon, lead, tin, brass, timber‡, planks, saltpetre, sulphur, bamboo§ and other things prohibited by the Government. Neither will she (be permitted to) carry Portuguese nor bring horses without any license and she will be (allowed to) bring slaves, males and females of her nationality only. (But) if there is any suspicion or information that some of these (slaves) are Christians or children of Christians there will be an open enquiry about them in the Provincial Council, even if such children are not baptised and before the said ship leaves the port of Dabul, she will be inspected and searched by the Feitor of His Majesty who is there and she will take his certificate on the back of this cartaz. On these conditions her voyage both onward and homeward will be without any impediment from the Captain Mors of the Armadas of this State or any other Captain or persons, and all who are hereby enjoined will fulfil and observe these terms without question. This shall be sealed with the signet of the royal arms of the Crown of Portugal. Belchoir da Silva drew it at Goa on the 9th August 1613 and I Secretary, Afonso Rodrigues Guevara caused it to be written. Viso Rey (Dom Jeromyno de Azevedo)"²². It may not be inferred that a friendly prince could obtain such cartaz for the mere asking. Another cartaz was granted only three days prior to this in the name of the Sultan of Bijapur who wished to despatch from the same port of Dabhol one of his ships '*Abdul Hadi*' to Tennassarim (Tenaserim).

* Nacoda—Captain of Merchantman.

† This person should not be confused with Malik Ambar, the Premier of the Nizamshahi Sultan. The latter was about 67 years old in 1613 A.D. as he died at the age of 80 in the year 1626 A.D.

‡ Madeira, and the original word in the above document is '*Mato*'.

§ The original has '*bembus machos*.' The last word means any piece of timber, iron, etc., that is to be fitted into another.

22. Dr. S. N. Sen: "A Preliminary Report of the Historical Records at Goa", Section IX, pp. 46-47.

The request of the Bijapur envoy was complied with, but the cartaz was endorsed with the remark that "this was a new request not hitherto made or conceded", and "license was given for this occasion only" in order to please the Sultan and in consideration of the amity that existed between the two States".²³

The terms of the Cartaz issued to the King of Canara were far more stringent than the above-cited cartaz. The cartaz granted to the King of Canara reads as follows; "I Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes, (member) of His Majesty's Council of State, Viceroy and Captain General of India, etc., make it known to all who may see it that as the King of Canara has sent for a Cartaz to enable one of his boats to navigate, I do him the favour of this occasion only of granting licence and safeguard. As his said ship *Permesuary* (*Parmeshwari*) by name, studded with nails having a capacity of six hundred khandis of Goa and having her *Nacoda* *Hansamma* Bapa, *Currane** *Pundallica*, Pilot *Mahama Dagi*, *Condestavel*† *Salu*, *Sarangue Ismal*, *Tandel*‡ *Abdul* and other persons for her navigation, carrying for her defence twenty-five pieces of artillery, thirty muskets, thirty swords, fifty lances, besides other munitions of war, from the port of Mangalore to the ports of Congo and Ormuz. She will not carry slaves or Christian children and if we have suspicion or information that such (persons) are on board, an open inquiry will be made in the Provincial Council even if such children are not baptised. Nor will she take or bring *Abbyssinians*, *Greeks* or *Arabs* belonging to any Portuguese nor shall she go to any port that acknowledge the authority of the Imam of Muscat or that of the *Angria* or of any other prince or rebel with whom this may be in war. Though it is (generally) prohibited this ship will bring horses as a *special favour* conceded to the said king that his ship may bring them from the ports of Congo and Ormuz. On her arrival at that port she will unload the goods she carries in that Factory and custom house and pay there the usual duties for which she will take from our

23. Ibid, p. 47.

*The same as Bengali Keranior ship clerk.

†Constable, probably, a petty supervising officer.

‡Marathi tandel and Indo-English tindal, a boatswain.

Factor a receipt on the back of the Cartaz with a declaration as to the horses she took in those ports so that there may not be any doubt that they were embarked there and not in other ports and takes or brings forbidden goods, this cartaz will not be valid and the ship will be seized and forfeited to the *Fazenda real*. I thus notify the Generals and Captain-mors of the Armadas of this State and persons concerned to fulfil and observe these conditions in this manner and allow the ship to make her outward and return voyage without any impediment. After the lapse of a year this Cartaz will not be in force. It will be sealed with the seal of the royal arms of the Crown of Portugal and it is declared that this is the seventh cartaz issued this summer for which no fee will be paid in accordance with one of the articles of a treaty concluded with the King of Canara. Gregorio Mascarenhas drew it at Goa on the first of March 1714 and I Secretary Joao Rodrigues Cezar de Menezes caused it to be written. Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes. By the decree of the Most Excellent Senhor Viceroy and Captain-General of India dated the 27th February 1714.²⁴

After reading the cartaz culled out above, one can draw the following deductions:—

- (1) All nations or potentates or persons other than the Portuguese were required to equip themselves with the Portuguese cartaz before sailing their ships for both outward and homeward voyages.
- (2) The cartaz named the port or ports to which the vessel or vessels were bound.
- (3) The cartaz enumerated the arms and men that might be carried on board the vessel or vessels.
- (4) These cartaz stated persons and commodities, prohibited or allowed in the vessel or vessels.
- (5) These cartaz specified the period of their validity.

24. Dr. S. N. Sen: "A Preliminary Report on the Historical Records at Goa," Section IX, pp. 47-49.

- (6) The grant of cartaz could not be claimed as a matter of right but it was a favour to the person, to whom it was issued.
- (7) The Portuguese claimed to search or examine any vessel suspected of violation of the terms of a cartaz.
- (8) Any infraction of the terms of a cartaz involved the forfeiture of the vessel or vessels and all that was in it and imprisonment of persons on board.

It is not surprising that even Mailk Ambar, their friendly ally and neighbour, must have sought the grant of cartaz in his favour and might not have been exempt from the stringent terms imposed by them. However, no such cartaz has been as yet discovered though they might have been issued more readily to him than to others.

After the assassination of Chand Bibi (1600 A.D.) and the elevation of Malik Ambar to almost independent power on the enthronement of a new sultan in the Nizamshahi kingdom, his first contact with the Portuguese seems to have occurred in 1601 A.D. which is recorded in the following letter of Philip III of Spain to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, dated Lisbon, 25 of January, 1601,:

“And though the Conde (de Vidiguiera) writes me that Akbar is already an old man, distrusting his eldest son and fearing to be poisoned by him and (on account of that) he had stopped the war he was waging against the kingdom of Mellique; yet since that king is very powerful and sagacious and desirous of approaching to that island of Goa, I recommend you to keep your eyes open on his designs and intentions to prevent them with the necessary remedies”.²⁵

A careful scrutiny of this letter throws into bold relief two salient facts:—

- (1) In 1601 A. D., Malik Ambar had grown sufficiently powerful and influential. The territory occupied by

25. *Vide* Monções do Reino, No. 8, Ano de 1601 to 1602 fol. 18.

him came to be known as "the kingdom of Mellique", which indicates that he wielded independent powers and masked the reigning Nizamshahi sultan.

- (2) Malik Ambar was a shrewd and far-sighted diplomat. The Portuguese incurred his odium, probably, during the tenure of his Governorship of Choul and Dabhol.²⁶ Malik Ambar seems to have been fully aware of the sinister designs of the Portuguese power in India as early as the year, 1596 A.D. It is, therefore, quite likely that Malik Ambar might have harboured intentions to take Goa in order to strike at the root of the Portuguese power in India.

The Portuguese apprehended the resumption of the Moghul conquest of the Deccan after the death of Akbar. Early in 1604 A.D., as a consequence, guided by the instincts of self-preservation and self-protection against the probable Moghul onslaught in the Deccan, the Portuguese eagerly sought an alliance with Malik Ambar. This can well be judged from the following excerpt:

"The circumstance of the relations between Akbar and his eldest son, as related by you, are the most suitable for the welfare of that state; and since we know the purpose of that king, I wish that the discord between them would last until his death, for after his demise it is understood that war will ensue in all his kingdoms. The precautions taken by the Mellique to defend himself from him, as you told me, must be much appreciated, and I thank you for the pains that you tell me you are taking to induce and incite him to do so".²⁷

It is significant to note that this alliance was rather clandestine than direct and open. Till the year 1604 A.D., the relations

26. Malik Ambar's name is mentioned as the "petty chief of Chaul and Dabul" in a letter of Philip II of Spain to the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidigueira dated 25th February, 1596. *Vide* Monções de Reino, No. 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol. 629).

27. A letter of Philip III of Spain to Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, dated Valladolid, in Spain, 23rd March, 1604 (*Vide* Monções de Reino, No. 9, Ano de 1604, fol. 22).

between Malik Ambar and the Portuguese were at least outwardly very cordial and peace and amity existed between them.

It appears that the Portuguese had obtained the right of collecting half the proceeds of land-revenue in the vicinity of Chaul. The collection of the whole revenue in the following year brought the ryots of Malik Ambar into direct conflict with them. The Portuguese committed inhuman brutalities on the people resident at Chaul by plundering the port thrice and the surrounding villages. Finally, their atrocities resulted in great bloodshed on the fourth occasion. The ryots and traders fled from these places for safety to Reevadanda and Dabhol and neighbouring villages.²⁸ Many shops, houses and families were ruined by these overt acts of plunder, arson and loot. The standing crops were also destroyed. The place became utterly desolate. Mamurkhan, the local officer, brought the matter to the notice of the Portuguese Captain who seems to have readily agreed to return the excess revenue realised from the ryots.²⁹ All these inhuman and high-handed acts were committed by the Portuguese officers, probably, without the knowledge of and orders from Portuguese Captain resident at Chaul. When the conditions returned to normal, the re-settlement of the desolated territory was effected by Malik Ambar after giving the ryots assurance of safety. Intoxicated with a feeling of superiority of their arms, the Portuguese committed acts of brutality many a time on the Indian soil.

The following year (1605 A. D.) witnessed the recrudescence of troubles at the hands of the Portuguese. Consequently, trade came to a standstill. The land-revenue was forcibly exacted by the Portuguese and bullocks and seed of the ryots were offered for sale against their will. These coercive measures rendered the ryots penniless, helpless and homeless.³⁰

It is not recorded in the available historical material what action and measures were taken by Malik Ambar to protect the

28. Q.B.I.S.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Art. 21, p. 29.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

peasantry of Chaul and its vicinity from future ravages of the Portuguese and how their activities were curbed and peace restored between the Portuguese and the Nizamshahi Premier.

Perhaps, disgusted with the sinister designs and undesirable activities of the Portuguese, Abdul Karim, the provincial governor of Chaul, fitted out a fleet of thirty sails to cruise against them in 1609 A.D. "The Viceroy of Goa (Ruy Lorenzo de Tavora Viceroy)", mentions Fariae-Souza in his "*Asia Portuguesa*" "remonstrates with the Nizamshahi government but obtains no satisfaction."³¹ However, it can be surmised that the efforts of the governor proved abortive and he was obliged to come to terms with the Portuguese as can be deduced from the letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy, Ruy Lourenco de Tavora dated the 29th October, 1609³². The Portuguese themselves seem to have been eager for peaceful settlement of their differences with Malik Ambar as they realised the dangers of the renewal of the Deccan conquest under the Moghul commander, Khan Jehan Lodi, assisted by Parwiz and Khankhanan Abdurrahim in the year.³³ This prepared the ground for the grand alliance brought about in 1620-1 among the Deccani sultanates, by the Portuguese.

After this, the Portuguese seems to have not merely avoided direct conflicts with Malik Ambar but also maintained peaceful relations. Alarmed at the defeat of Malik Ambar by the Moghuls,³⁴ the Portuguese directed their efforts to bring about an alliance among the Deccan sultanates by opening up negotiations of peace with the Adilshahi and the Nizamshahi rulers in 1615 and 1617.

Prof. Panduranga Rao Pissulencar has unearthed a document which embodies both the above treaties and refers to the treaty made by Murtaza Nizamshah I (Diwana) with the Portuguese in 1571. The treaty of 1571 is mentioned in the Cambridge History of India as follows:

"Ali (Adilshah), after his defeat, concluded on December 17, a new treaty with the Portuguese, and Murtaza after losing 3,000

31. Tome III, Part II. Chap. X.

32. B. Pato. "*Documentos Remetidos da India*", fl., 1880, pp. 253-254, cf. also t. II, 89.

33. Tuzuk: Vol. I, pp. 160-162.

34. Ibid, Vol I, pp. 312-3.

men in one day before Choul, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Dom Sebastao, King of Portugal."³⁵ Before this, a treaty had been concluded between the Nizamshah and the Portuguese of Chaul for offensive and defensive alliance towards the end of 1570.³⁶

The tripartite treaties of October 1615 and January 1617 between the Portuguese and the Adilshah and Malik Abmar may be summarised as follows.³⁷

In the beginning of the document, it is stated that the good offices of the Adilshah brought about cordial relations between the Portuguese and the Nizamshah. For this purpose, on the 9th October, 1615, at Nauraspur (close to Bijapur), the Sultan of Bijapur, and his premier had assembled at the royal palace. Shah Nawaz Khan (Adilshahi) was present on this occasion. In this assembly, Kashi Pandit, the Nizamshahi ambassador, showed the letter of Malik Ambar bearing his seal and date of September 18, 1615. It reads thus: "Whatever agreement is entered into by Ibrahim Adilshah and Shah Nawaz Khan (Adilshahi) with the Viceroy shall be signed by our ambassador, Kashi Pandit; this will be observed by us". Similarly, Antoni Mateir brought and showed the orders of the Portuguese king dated the 13th May, 1615. Having accredited Antoni to sign a treaty on behalf of the Portuguese, the Viceroy deputed him for the purpose and assented to observe the terms of the treaty.

The terms of the treaty made during the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah (Diwana) were to be duly observed with an additional condition that in the Nizamshahi ports and territory the English and the Dutch should be forbidden to settle down and debarred from assistance from the Nizamshah. The first treaty was concluded in 1615 and was signed by the ambassadors of both the

35. Vol. III, p. 453.

36. Danvers: "The Portuguese In India", Vol. I, p. 568.

37. Q. B. I. S. M., Vol. XII, Nos. 2-3. (Persian Sources, pp. 29-33) by D. V. Apte.

parties and an agreement was reached to abide by it. The present Nizamshah signified his agreement to carry out the terms of this treaty concluded and stamped it with his state seal on the 9th October, 1615. Four copies of this treaty were ordered to be made two in Marathi ('हिंदी' in original) and two in the Portuguese language. Two copies were to be handed over to the Portuguese envoy and the remaining two copies to the Nizamshahi envoy. Mahatim Bhandari, the interpreter, caused it to be rendered into the two languages. At this time, the Nizamshah was represented by Khwaja Nura, Mulla Muhammad and Majlasi Khan and by two Portuguese (the names are illegible and unintelligible). Thereafter, Antoni Mateir proceeded to the Deccan to obtain the seal of the Nizamshah and Malik Ambar on it.

In this assembly, Malik Ambar and the Adilshah's envoy, Dafakhan, incorporated another condition, namely, that the differences among the officers and the ryots of the Nizamshah and the Adilshah and the Portuguese should be avoided at Reevadanda and Chaul, arising out of disputes related to the gardens and coconut groves. For the said purpose, all disputes must be referred to a board of arbitrators composed of the two persons of high esteem representing the Nizamshah and two persons representing the Portuguese Viceroy. All disputes regarding the ownership of gardens and groves should be settled on basis of legal deeds. Those whose legal deeds are in order should be allowed to keep their ownership of their gardens and groves undisturbed. In such cases, all these gardens and groves were to be restored immediately to their rightful owners. In cases otherwise than this, the gardens and groves were to be made over to their proper owners. The prices decided by the board of arbitration should be paid for the Portuguese gardens and groves in the Nizamshahi dominions, after securing the necessary consent of the owners in written agreements or deeds, if they were to be purchased. Such a treaty was stamped with the seals of the Nizamshah, Malik Ambar, Antoni Mateir and Dafakhan, the envoy of the Adilshah.

At Goa, on the 1st January, 1617, when the document of the treaty was laid before the Viceroy and Captain General of the

Portuguese by the Nizamshahi envoys, Kashi Pandit and Samsher Khan, he ordered his Secretary to read it out to him. After perusal thereof, the Viceroy affixed his signature to it and informed that the treaty would be observed by the Portuguese so long as the Nizamshah and his descendants did not violate its terms.

The treaties facilitated the making of the prospective alliance among the Deccan Sultanates against the Moghul invasion in the Deccan in 1620-1. These treaties need some brief comments:—

- (1) Both the treaties revived the terms of the treaty made in 1571.
- (2) The treaty of 1615, added a new term to those of the old treaty, namely, that the English and the Dutch were to be forbidden to settle in the Nizamshahi dominion and to be given no assistance.
- (3) Besides this, the treaty of 1617 included an additional condition for the institution of a board of arbitration for disputes arising between the Portuguese ryots and the native ryots regarding the disputed ownership of coconut gardens and groves.

In respect of the new condition, added in 1615, it may be noted that the English and the Dutch had already appeared on the Indian soil and were rather eager to establish their trade. The Portuguese were equally eager to safeguard their monopoly of their commercial privileges and rights in India in general and in the Nizamshahi dominion in particular. Regarding the fresh term incorporated in the treaty of 1617, it may be said that the Portuguese Viceroy seems to have realised the necessity of keeping Malik Ambar in good humour and the futility of constant strifes arising out of disputed and questionable ownership of gardens and groves at Chaul and other places. Behind this lay the far larger consideration of warding off the dangers consequent on the Moghul invasion in the Deccan.

Prior to the treaty of 1615, an offensive alliance had been effected among the three Deccani sultans, namely, the Nizamshah,

the Adilshah. and the Kutbshah.³⁸ The supreme command of the combined armies of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda was vested in Malik Ambar who led these forces in the early part of the same year.³⁹ The treaty seems to have merely ratified and confirmed the alliance already in existence at the instance of the Portuguese in the month of October of the same year.

In the year 1620 A. D., Malik Ambar embarked on a war against the Moghuls on an extensive scale with the help of the two Deccan allies, namely, the Adilshah and the Kutbshah.⁴⁰ He mobilised an army of 60,000 horse for the war against the Moghuls. "Building up a grand alliance of the Deccani powers", says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "he attacked the Mughals in overwhelming force, drove them to Burhanpur and closely invested their Viceroy in that city." (1620).⁴¹ Malik Ambar even crossed the Nerbudda and carried out daring raids into the Moghul territories. The alliance made it possible for Malik Ambar to carrying out such a bold project against the most powerful state in India. It is apparent that the treaty of 1617 fostered this triple alliance.

It has already been narrated elsewhere that, in the same year, Malik Ambar's soldiers raided and plundered an English mercantile caravan bound for Burhanpur from Agra in the vicinity of Mandu* When negotiations for compensation for the loss due to the pillage were opened up between Malik Ambar and the English in October. Mr. Jefferies was deputed on this mission. During the course of negotiations, Malik Ambar consulted his interpreter a Portuguese by nationality, named Jasper Gomes, regarding the question of compensation to the English. Though pressed earnestly by Mr. Jefferies to give him admittance into Malik Ambar's presence during this consultation, his request was

38. Wakiat-i-Jehangiri, E. & D., Vol. VI, pp. 343-4.

39. Dutch Records on Mailk Ambar (Q.B.I.S.M., Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 9).

40. Turuk-i-Jehangiri (Memoirs of Jehangir), Translated by Rogers and Beveridge, pp. 188-90.

41. Aurangzib, Vols. I & II, p. 26 (Edition of 1925).

*F. R. Surat, Vol. I, p. 105, March 16, 1621.

not acceded to and the personal guard of the Abbyssinian Minister did not allow him in.⁴²

The period of 5 years from 1620 A.D. to 1625 A.D. appears to be uneventful in so far as Malik Ambar's dealings with the Portuguese are concerned in the light of the historical material available at present.

The peace and tranquillity of Chaul was disturbed in June 1625 by the Portuguese.⁴³ The details and nature of the disturbance are not known.

Early in 1625, Dabhol seems to have been annexed by Malik Ambar during the invasion of the Adilshahi territory following the famous and decisive battle of Bhatvadi (October, 1624.)⁴⁴ Malik Ambar and the Nizamshahi subjects must have come into some sort of contact with the Portuguese resident at Dabhol and its vicinity. After the lapse of a year, Malik Ambar paid his debt to nature on the 12th May, 1626, from which date, naturally, his relations with the Portuguese terminated.⁴⁵

In conclusion, be it said that the Portuguese were urged to keep friendly and amicable relations with Malik Ambar in order to face the imperialistic designs of the Moghuls, though occasionally they created troubles at Chaul much to his chagrin and vexation. The materials on the life and time of Malik Ambar so far extant do not throw any light on his policy towards the Portuguese relating to their religious fanaticism and forcible conversion of the Indians into Christianity. The present history must remain silent about the employment of the Portuguese adventurers in the Nizamshahi services. There is only a solitary reference to a Portuguese, named Jasper Gomes, entertained as an interpreter into Malik Ambar's service under the Nizamshahi reign. It is not possible to know from the materials discovered so far whether the Portuguese supplied arms and ammunitions

42. Foster: Eng. Fact. in India, Vol. I, pp. 315-316.

43. Q. B. I. S. M., Vol. XIII, No. 1, (Sh. Ch. S., Part IV, No. 710) dated the 28th June, 1625 and P. S. S. 2406.

44. Foster: Eng. Fact. in India, Vol. III, p. 243.

45. Refer to Chapter Ibid, p.

to Malik Ambar or whether they sought service under him in his army as gunners. It will not be, however, wrong to surmise that they must have rendered all possible help, for they thought him to be their powerful and helpful ally and neighbour.

List of Abbreviations:

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|--------------------------|---|
| (1) P. S. S. | Patra-Sar-Sangrah. (published by Shricharitra Karyalaya) Vols. I-III. |
| (2) Q.B.I.S.M. | Quarterly of the Bharat Itihas San-shodhak Mandal of Poona. |
| (3) B.G.G., Kolaba. | Bombay Gazetteer, Kolaba. |
| (4) Eng. Fact. in India: | "English Factories in India", Edited by Foster. |
| (5) Turuk: | Turuk-i-Jehangiri (Translated by Rogers and Beveridge) (Oriental Translation Fund: New Series, Vol. XIX) "The Memoirs of Jehangir". |
| (6) Sh. Ch. S. | Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya. |
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**No. 391.—THE INSCRIPTION OF DEVENDRAVARMA
AT GARA.**

(*G. Ramadas, B.A., Jeypore.*)

While turning over the old Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy, I chanced to see the facsimile with the above heading (Plate II) and the commentary on it in para. 9 of p. 56 of Part II of the Report for 1932-33. The commentary runs as follows:—

“The other inscription which also comes from Gara (No. 391) belongs to a king called Devendravarma (Plate II). It is dated in the 7th year and in the Saka year 1005 dated by the rather unusual chronogram ‘*Sara-Sura(rya)*’ *rasmi*. The sun being usually called *Sahasra-rasmi*, we have to interpret ‘*Sūrya-rasmi*’ in this context as representing ‘thousand’. The only king that could be referred to this date would be Anantavarman-Chodagangadeva whose initial date was Saka 999. But he is not known to have borne the epithet or surname Devendravarman. It is probable that the Devendravarman of this record was identical with the king of that name whom Panduvaraja, the general of the Chālukya-Chola king Kulottunga Chola I is stated to have vanquished with other kings of the North *i.e.* Kalinga, Kosala etc. (*Vide S.I.L., Vol. V—No. 1239*)”.

The foot-note to the above with the initials ‘N.C.P.’ at the end runs thus:—“As the inscription comes from Ganjam District which was under the rule of Chodaganga at that time, it is not possible that there was another paramount sovereign of the same dynasty ruling over that tract. So the chronogram has to be

1. It is not known if any scholar gave this opinion on this epigraph. Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao wrote an article on this in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. but unfortunately that particular part of the Journal is missing in my library. So I have no scope to know what was written there regarding the interpretation of the chronogram. But his note on the Kambakāya Grant (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. X, parts I-IV, p. 120), is worth notice. Understanding the chronogram of the charter to represent Saka 1003, he identifies Devendravarma, the donor of the grant with a rival of Chodaganga. The rival of Anantavarma Chodaganga has not been heard of till now.

interpreted differently. As the word *rasmi* is used as an abbreviation of *Sitarasmi* (Bühler Indische Palaeographie, p. 80) the date of the record may be Saka 1125. No king who bore the name Devendravarman, is however, known to be ruling at this time. But it may be noted that the date corresponds with the period of Rajaraja III whose surname Anantavarma is found in an inscription but not Devendravarman."

The Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy justifies his interpretation of the Chronogram in para 15 of the Annual Report for 1937-38.

"In the matter of interpreting the date of the Gara inscription of King Devendravarman (No. 391 of 1932-33) which is given by the rather unusual¹ chronogram '*Sara-Sūrya-rasmi*' and assigned by me to Saka 1005 (*i.e.* 5 and 1000 Ep. Rep. for 1932-33, p. 56, para 9) Dr. Chakravarti has suggested that the interpretation of *rasmi* must be *Chandra* (*i.e.* 1) but at the same time recognised the difficulties in the way of adopting the interpretation definitely in the particular case (Ibid, p. 57 note 1). Attention may be drawn in this connection to an inscription from Mukhalingam (S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1139) which reads *Śākābde pancha shashthyadhike ravikirane*' where the only interpretation possible for *ravikirane* is 1000 and the date has to be taken as Saka 1065. Similarly in another inscription from the same locality (S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1126) the date given as *Śākābde nayana-arka-rasmi ganite* must accordingly be taken to be Saka 1002 and not 1122".

This discussion appeared to be interesting for the interpretation of the date seemed to be very unusual. Immediately below the facsimile of this Epigraph is given the facsimile of another document which is dated in Saka 994 (No. 400 M.E.R. 1932-33). I compared the form of letters of the former with that of similar letters in the latter. The letters ऋ, ॠ, ॡ show clear difference. According to this examination, the inscription No. 391 must be much later, at least by a century; but the difference in the dates is only 11 (1005-994) years. Even allowing margin for the localities

1. It is not unusual. It is the wrong synchronism that made it unusual.

in which each is engraved, such a small difference in time cannot be taken to account for such an apparent difference in script. I then proceeded to find authorities for such interpretation of the date. The meaning of *rasmi*, *kirana* is sought and found to mean 'a ray of light'. *Surya-rasmi* means *Sun-light* (Apte). But *Surya-kirana* is not found in Sanskrit Dictionaries of Apte, Wilson and Paravastu Rongachari.¹ Even in the Kanarese Dictionary by Kittel or in the Telugu Dictionary by Brown this is not seen. So far for the usage of *Sūrya-rasmi* and *Ravi-kirana*. Then I referred to Sewell's 'Eclipses of the Moon in India' where, on p. 7, are given the 'Numbers expressed by words'. It is said, 'Dates in Indian inscriptions are often expressed by words, each word representing a numeral, and selected for that purpose according to its meaning.'² In the list given there *rasmi* is found to represent the numeral *one* and *Sitarasmi* which means Chandra indicates the same numeral as Chandra *Sahasrāmsu*. *Sūrya* and *bhānu* represent the numeral 12. No authority is found for interpreting *rasmi* or any other word brought in by the author of the commentary to mean 1000.

Here the intention for this unusual and unscientific interpretation seems to be the intention of identifying the Devendra-varma of this inscription with the one of the same name said to have been defeated by Panduvaraju, the general of Kulottunga Chola I (S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1239). Dr. Chakravarti is quite right to say that the chronogram represents the Saka year 1125 and that the date corresponds to the period of Rajaraja III. Every king that ruled the Eastern Ganga kingdom after Anantavarma Chodaganga is given the surname of Anantavarman in the inscription (*Vide* Insp. of Mukhalingam, Sri Kurman and Simhāchalam)³ From analogy this appears to be a mistake on the part of the

1. Amarakosa, Book 1, canto 3, verse 28 ff gives the names of *Surya*; *kirana*, *rasmi* are also given but not such compounds as *Sūryarasmi* or *Surya-kirana*. They simply mean sun light and nothing more.

2. The italics are mine. It must be particularly noted that words to represent numerals are selected according to their meaning. *Surya* represents 12 because he is *dvādaśātman*.

3. S.I.I., Vols. IV, V and VI.

engravers. For, Vajrahasta V, the grandfather of Chodaganga was Anantavarma. His son, Rājārāja I, the father of Chodaganga was Devendravarma. Chodaganga had the surname Anantavarma. From this it appears that the surnames, Anantavarma and Devendravarma, were borne alternately. So Rajaraja II must be Devendravarma, because he succeeded Rāghava who must be Anantavarma being third to Chodaganga in succession. Thus Anaṅga Bhima gets the surname Anantavarma; consequently Rajaraja III becomes Devendravarma. Thus the inscription (No. 391) of Devendravarma of Gara of Saka year 1125 which was the 7th regnal year,—calculated according to the anka system,—yields the initial year Saka 1120. This is the 1st year obtained for Rajaraja III by M.M. Chakravarti (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXII, No. 1, 1903, p. 116). This result may be verified by the two inscriptions of this Ganga king.

S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 1272, Sri Kūrman temple.

Saka Varshambulu 1127 nēnti Srimad—Anantavarma dēvara pravardhamāna Vijayarāja samvatsarambulu 10 Srāti Tulā paurnamaya guruvarmuṇāti Somagrahaṇa-nimittamuna = A. D. 1205 (Saka 1127 expired or 1128 current) September 29, Thursday, Lunar eclipse (Sewell) (This is the only inscription verified by M. M. Chakravarti.)

Ibid, No. 1317 in the same temple.

Saka varshambulu 1129 nēnti Srimad—Anantavarma devara pravardhamāna Vijayarāja—Samvatsarambulu 11 Srāti Kumbha Kṛi 2 Sukravāramuna = A.D. 1206 January 26, Friday. The anka year 11 gives actual years of rule. The first year is Saka 1120.

Now let us read the Gara stone inscription (No. 391 of 1933).

11. 10-17. Srimad-Devendravarma dēvara pravardhamāna Vijayarāja Samvatsarambulu 7 agunēti Ma[ā](gha?) māsamuna nuttarāyaṇa nimittamuna. The arrangement of words is similar to that of each of the inscription of Sri Kūrman. The only difference is in the surname of the king therein. The dates give correct verification; the regnal years all point out to only one initial year. Is it necessary to alter the significance of the

chronogram only for the purpose of synchronism? The name Anantavarma might have been carved by the ignorant engraver. Since the examination of the inscription from all standpoints of view proved to give Saka 1125 as the correct and scientific interpretation of the chronogram, it appears that it is unusual to take *rasmi* of the chronogram to represent 1000.¹

Another inscription from Tekkali in which the date is given in the regnal as well as Saka year of a Devendravarma has been published by the Rajah Bahadur of Tekkali (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI., Parts 1 and 2, pp. 16-18f). But the facsimile of the inscription did not accompany the paper. Now Srīman Pandit Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru, U.B.P. questions the reading of it by the Rajah Bahadur and gives his own reading (p. 36, Kalinga Historical Society, Balangir, Vol. 1, No. 1.) but does not give the facsimile to justify his reading. In the absence of the inscription, it is not possible to accept either of the readings. The aim of the learned Pandit appears to be that the Devendravarma of this Tekkali epigraph and of the Gara inscriptions is a contemporary ruler of Anantavarma Choda Ganga. For the support of his argument he gives a long list of the regnal years and the corresponding Saka years of the period of the great Ganga king (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. 1, No. 2,

1. In support of his argument, the Assist. Supdt. for Epigraphy cited the two inscriptions in which the years are expressed in chronograms. *Sākūbde pancha-shashtya-dhike* (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1129) *ravi-kirane* gives (ravi-kirana) 12 and 65 naturally i.e. Saka 1265, ravi kirana like dyu-maṇi (E.I., Vol. III, No. 4, verse 20) stands only for Surya which represent 12. The other inscription he refers to (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1126) expresses the year in the chronogram *nayana-ārka-rasmi* is clearly 2, 12, 1 and gives Saka 1122. It may be pointed that both the inscriptions give details of the date and they verify correctly if interpreted as usual. The unusual interpretation does not verify rightly. As the two inscriptions are not historically important I did not give the verification here. *Arka-rasmi* and *ravi-kirana* simply represent the same numeral as *Surya* which is 12.

Sābdakalpadrūma does not give such compounds. The same work gives the following words to represent the numerals noted against each set: *Chandra*, *kirana* &c. for 1; *Surya*, *māsa* &c. for 12; *Jāhnavimukha*, *Sēsha-sirṣha*, *ravi-karūh* etc. for 1000. But we are not, thereby, allowed to interpret ravi-kiranāh or Sūrya-kiranāh to mean 1000 for *kirana* is not a synonym of *kara* which by itself represents *two* like *bāhu buja*; when combined with *ravi* which by itself stands for 12, ravi-kara represent 1000.

p. 37). Then he says, "It is quite clear that Chodagangadeva whose regnal year 23 fell in S.S. 1020 must have come to the throne of Kalinga in the same year when Devendravarma, according to the *Tekkali inscription of Padmachandra* began to rule his country." Then, to show if this Devendravarma was the same as or different from Chodaganga, he takes to his help the Draksharāma temple inscription of Pallavaraja¹ (S.I.I., Vol. V., No. 1239). This is the very inscription referred to by the Asst. Supdt. of Epigraphy for the probable identity of the Devendravarma of Gara epigraph (see above).

The learned Pandit says, in the same journal, that 'the Draksharāma temple inscription is dated in the 33rd² regnal year of Rajendra Choḷa Kulottunga Choḷa Deva (I) which corresponds to S.S. 1042 or A.D. 1120, Kulottunga I's reign having begun from S.S. 992'. It appears that he entirely depends on what Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer has said in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII on this particular inscription of Drakshārāma temple (S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 1239). I have not read Mr. Iyer's article in that Journal but from what Sri S. N. Rajaguru quoted in support of his argument, I am lead to conclude that the victory of Pallava Panduaraju over Devendravarma is assigned to the period of Kulottunga Chola I (S.S. 992 to S.S. 1040) (V.A. Smith, 1914)³. His conclusion seems to have been based on *Kalingattuparani*, a Tamil historical poem of which Kulottunga I was the hero.

The country of Kalinga was conquered twice by the Choḷa rulers. The first was during the time of Rajendra Chola I (S. S. 932) and the second was what is described in this *Kalingattuparani*. "Before the 26th year of his reign *i.e.* A.D. 1095-96 (Saka 1017), Kutottunga conquered the country of Kalinga. This expedition is described in detail in *Kalingattuparani*. It would fall into the reign of Anantavarman, *alias* Chodaganga of Kalinganagara (A.D. 1078 to about 1142)" (S.I.I., Vol. III, Part II, p. 130).

1. Journal of Kalinga Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1.

2. In the Journal it is printed 23rd.

3. V. A. Smith: That Kulottunga Chola's expedition against Kalinga was a re-conquest. So there was a previous one and that was by Rajendra Chola.

Here is the apparent discrepancy for synchronising the Devendravarma of the Drakshārāma temple inscription with Anantavarma Choḍaganga, for two kings cannot simultaneously hold sovereignty over one and the same kingdom.¹ Anantavarma and Devendravarma are imperial titles borne alternately by the Ganga rulers of Kalinga. Till now no record has come out to prove the contrary. Nor are there found any records to prove that one and the same person assumed the two surnames at the same time. No vassal of the Ganga sovereign had ever got this surname. Till now it is not heard of in any document to prove that Anantavarma Choḍaganga had a rival to the throne. Such unauthenticated assumptions cannot be accepted for scientific history.

A close and detailed examination of the Drākshārāma temple inscription (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1239) will lead us to the correct identification of the Devendravarma mentioned in it. The epigraph seems to be divided into four parts.

ll. 1-5 form Part I. The name of the sovereign with his titles, his regnal year when the charity was made are clearly given. The king was the *conqueror of the east west and south quarters, samasta-bhuvanāśrayah, Sri Prithivivallabhah, Mahā Rājādhirājāh; Paramēśvarah; Chalukya-Chola-Kula-Sēkharah, Pandya Kulāntakuh.....Rājēndrah, Vira-Mahēndrah, Vikrama Choḍa, Vijayābharanah, Sri Rājakesarivarmah, Tri-bhuvana-Chakravartih; Sri Kulottunga Choḍadēvah.*

It may be particularly noted that the name Rājendra-Choḍa does not appear in the titles above. There are seven dots before *Rājēndra* (1-4) i.e. at the end of line 3 showing the illegibility of seven letters (?) but no such omission is indicated after that name. If that Rajendra were intended for Rājendra Chōḍa, there ought to have been two dots after. It may be definitely said that Kulōttunga Chola was not called Rajendra Choda in his 33rd regnal year (Saka 1025). Then begins the second part from l. 6. But I quote only from l. 9 reserving ll. 6-9 for future time.

1. *Vide* Dr. Chakravarti's remark above.

1. 9. Karshann = asva-khurair-dvishatām surudhirair-āpūrayann-
āhava - Kshētram Tivra-Kṛpāna-Kṛttaradani pron-mukta-
muktara[bakān]

Uptvā Kirtilatām vivardhayati yo Rājendra Chōla prabhōh
Soyam Pānduvarāja-ity-abihito sach-chūlra -chūlāmaṇih ||

1. 10. Bhasmi-Kṛtya Kalinga-dōsa-makhilam nirjitya Gangān-ṛaṇō
Bhaṅktvā Kosal-Khanda-vāla-nivahai Dēvendravarmādikān
Virah Pallavarāja ityabhibhito Rājendra Chōla prabhōh
Kirtyuttambha-miv--Ōlrasandhishu Jayastambham Śubham-

1. 11 nyakhipat ||

It is said here that a pillar of Victory on the boundary of the Odra country was set up. Mahendra mountain where the Gangas established Gokarna, their family god, was such a boundary and on this exists the Yudhishtira temple; on the wall near the entrance are inscriptions in Tamil and Sanskrit (M. E. R. 1896, Nos. 396, 397.)

In the above two verses the commander's name is changed from verse to verse; Pānduvarāja in verse 1 (1. 9) and Pallavaraja in verse 2 (1. 10-11). But the name of his sovereign is uniformly Rājendra Chōla. If the sovereign were really Kulōttunga Chōla, as presumed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer would not that name be introduced even for once in the verse? Now coming to the Mahēndra hill epigraph No. 367 of 1896,

1. (८) Jayati nija-bhujā [1] nirjity = ōvi-pa-mauli-
prapāti-galita-mālyam Kriti-sthbhānā = laṅkrā

2. Bhūmih | Vijayati yadiyam dhāna lokam samastam |
Kalimalinitā-mucchair-btarāji Rājendra Chōlah |

3. Nidhvastānnija vikramōpa Vimalādityam kulūt-ē-varam
saṁgr̥by-ādri-nibham Kalinga-patinā-nda.

4. ttā-karō vāranān = btritva dandapatir = jagad-vijayinō
Rājendra Chōlasya sandyā-prante śikharē

5. nyadhatta vijaya-stam-

6. bham = mahēndrāchalē ||

Dr. Hultzsch, the then Government Epigraphist writes thus on these two inscriptions (Sanskrit and Tamil) of the Mahēndra hill (M.E.R. 1896, p. 7, para 22.)

“ From the two inscriptions, in Sanskrit and Tamil (Nos. 396, 397 of 1896) we learn the interesting fact that Rājendra Chola, having defeated (his brother-in-law) Vimaladitya (A. D. 1015 to 1022) set up a pillar of victory (*Jayastambha*) on the Mahēndra mountain ”

Vimalāditya's period corresponds to Saka 937 to 944. The Drākshārāma temple inscription is as it were a commentary of Mahendra epigraph. *Dandapati* of Rajendra Chola (l. 4) is named as Pallavaraju in one place and Pāṇḍuvaraju in another place. Kalingapati of this is clearly explained to be Devendravarma. Rājendra Chola is the sovereign named in both. The pillar of victory is said to have been set up at Mahēndrachala—the boundary of Oḍḍa Country. From line 7 the character and eulogy of the Pallavaraju are given, and this Pallavaraju was endowed by his lord with a *dwara*, *chāmara*, *chatra* (*ghāṇātapa vārana*) one *samkha*, and other royal insignia.

In the book '*Kalingattuparani*' it is described that on the emperor's ordering that the Kalinga country should be subdued and its king brought there, Vendainagar—arāsen who is variously called Karmakāran Pallavārkan, Valavaivendan set out. (*Vide Kalingattuparani*, vv. 52–54). This I believe is an extract from the E. I., Vol. XXII, p. 138).¹

Tirunvalangadu copper-plate also states that Rājendra Chōla ordered the commander of his forces, and conqueror of the countries on the way to the Ganges.

Perhaps Mr. Iyar is not aware that Pallavarāyan and (Pallavāṭṭarāyar Telugu: Pallavarāju) and Vallavaraiyan are mentioned as the father and the husband respectively of Sāmbiyar Dēvadigalar in an inscription (No. 39 of 1918, p. 144, para 26) of the time of

1. The victory over Kalinga attributed to Kulottunga Chōla has nowhere been found on the boundary of the Oḍḍa or Kalinga country.

Rajendra Chōla. This Pallavaraju of the Drākshārāma temple inscription is identical with the Pallavarāyan of the above epigraph.

11. (11-13) Here are enumerated the several charities instituted by this Pallavaraju *viz.*, a temple of blue granite at Mānālavali-*agrahāra*, fine images of hermits (Jains ?); feeding of brahmins and gardeners.

From l. 13 begins the account of a charity quite different from those of Pallavaraju by the person Tiruvarangavara mentioned in ll. 5-6. which says that Tiruvarangavara was a good Vaishnava and of a charitable mind; that he was the son of Sri Rālanga, the best of the *Sūdras*, the head of the village of Kāstipuri(?) in Muṇḍalanjēri which was full of plantain trees (*rambh-āḷhyā*) and which belonged to the *vishaya* Tirinarayūrnāḍu. The relation-ship of this Tiruvarangavara to the Pallavaraju is not known as the line after Pallavarāja in l. 15 is illegible. These lines from 13-15 record the gift made by Tiruvarangarāya at Drākshārāmā.¹ The eulogy of Pallavarāju *alias* Paṇḍuvarāju is introduced in the middle just to show that the donor was somehow related to the family of the hero of Kalinga.

This Drākshārāmā temple inscription was engraved during the time of Kulottunga Chola I but the achievements of Pallavaraju did not belong to that time for:—

- (1) In the prasasti of Panduvaraju, the ruler Rajendra Chōla is repeatedly given. So also in the Mahēndragiri inscription, but the name is not found in the titles with which Kulottunga Chola is extolled.
- (2) Though *Kalingattuparani* describes the conquest of Kalinga by Kulottunga Chōla in detail, the mention of that expedition is made in only one epigraph (S.I.I., Vol. III, Part II, No. 72) and in no other it is referred to. This expedition against Kalinga during the time when Anantavarma Choḍaganga was its ruler, and a great conqueror himself cannot be supported.

1. It was this gift that was made in the 33rd year of the reign of Kulottunga Chōla by Srirangaraya.

- (3) Dr. Hultzsch himself expressed a doubt about the conquest of Kalinga by Kulottunga Chōla I (M.E.R. 1899, para 55). "The conquest of Kalinga, which is mentioned as far as it is known at present only in a single inscription of Kulōttunga I dated in his 45th year (A.D. 1114-15) and in an inscription of the 4th year of Vikrama Chōla (A.D. 1111-12; South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part III, p. 310) was actually undertaken by Vikrama Chōla about the end of his father's reign and that both claimed credit for it. It is for this reason that *Kulōttunga-Sōlan Ula*, a Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulōttunga Chōla II the Akalaṅkan (a surname of Vikrama-Chōla) and grandson of Śungan = daviratton (*i.e.*, Kulōttunga I) refers to the conquest of Kalinga as having been achieved by Vikrama Chōla, while the *Kaliṅgattuparani* another Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulottunga I, claims the same achievement for its hero."
- (4) Reliable historical facts cannot be accepted unless they have a strong epigraphical support. Such support has the conquest of Kalinga by Rajēndra Chōla in Tiruvalaṅgaḍu copper plate (S.I.I. Vol. III, Part III. No. 205, pp. 388 ff) which describes the conquest in detail (vv. 109-120). It is mentioned in many other records of that time.

Since both the internal and external evidences prove that Kalinga was conquered by Rajēndra Chōla, it is not possible to identify the conquest by Pānduva *alias* Pallavaraju with the one described in *Kaliṅgattuparani*, a Tamil poem written to tickle the pride of its hero, Kulottunga Chōla I.

Rajēndra Chōla is said to have killed the wicked king of Oḍḍa and to have accepted as tribute from the surviving claimant many rutting elephants (Ibid., v. 120). So when was this conquest achieved? In the Mahēndra hill epigraph it is said that Kalinga was conquered after the Kulūta king Vimalāditya had been vanquished and we learn that the reign of the Kulūta king ended

by Saka 944 (S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 32 Pedigree). Tiruvalangaḍu C.P. records (v. 116, l. 283) *Apa-hṛta Raṇa-Sūra-sampd-ucchai-radh*.....that he took away the wealth of Raṇāsura. H. K. Sastry identified this Raṇāsura with the one that helped Mahipāla to repel the invasion of Rājendra Chōḷa in A.D. 1025 (Saka 947). This Mahipāla is described (v. 119) to have been defeated by the general of the Chōḷa ruler while bringing the Ganges water. The conquest of Kalinga, the killing of the wicked king of Oḷḷa (Devendravarma) and receiving the tribute of rutting elephants must have been between Saka 944 and 947. The Chōḷa commander must have first reduced Kalinga and then proceeded to the north and that was done a few months after Vimalāditya had been dethroned. The Chōḷa king's dealings in Kalinga must have occurred between Saka 944-5. Rai Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, (S.I.I., Vol. III, Part IV, introduction, p. 20) says it cannot be earlier than A.D. 1023 (Saka 945).

Having determined the year in which the Kalinga king Devendravarma fought and died in the battle with, the Chōḷas, we are now to identify him with one of those whose names are known to us through the copper-plate inscriptions of Vajrahasta V and of Choḍaganga. If the years mentioned against each ruler in these charters are considered to give the actual period of rule, the year, (Saka 944-5) of Chalukya Vimalāditya's deposition falls within the period of Ganga Madhu-kāmārṇava VI who ruled for 19 years before Vajrahasta V was crowned in Saka 960. Madhu-Kāmārṇava according to this reckoning reigns from Saka 941 to 960. But we are told in the Tiruvalangaḍu copper-plate that the Kalinga king was killed and his successor paid tribute of rutting elephants to the Chōḷa king to obtain peace. This does not synchronise with the time of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI who ruled for 19 years. Unless these regnal years given in the above said copper-plates are reckoned according to the anka system, the right periods of rule of each king cannot be obtained and the identification becomes impossible.

Lists of Ganga kings that ruled over kalinga before Vajrahasta V are already given (J A.H.R.S., Vol. III, p. 80 and J.B.O.R.S.,

Vol. XVIII p. 287) in which the period of each ruler is reckoned according to the anka system. I append here with the same list giving the surname Anantavarma and Devendravarma alternately to the rulers reckoning from Choḍganga backwards. It is seen from the list that Kāmārṇava V ruled from Saka 943-944 (for only six months¹—*artha-samām*, Nadagam plates) and that he bore the surname, Devendravarma. Gundama had the surname, Anantavarma and succeeded to the throne. It was he that paid the tribute of elephants and obtained peace.

Kosala mentioned in *Kōsala-Khaṇḍavāla* (l. 10) is to be identified. It is identified with the country now divided into Bastar state and the Jeypore estate. It was the country ruled over by the Nalas from their chief seat at *Pushkari* identified with *Poḷigadh* (Bhārati, June, 1945). During the time of the Gāṅga, it became known as *Trikaliṅga*.²

Thus it is found that this *Kosala* was *Trikaliṅga* and it was under the sway of the Gāṅga king, Devendravarma Kāmārṇava V in the Saka year 943-44.

From all this discussion which rose from the unusual interpretation of the *Chronogram* giving the year of the inscription at Gara (M. E. R. 1933, No. 391) and from the faulty identification of the Devendravarma mentioned therein, we learn the following facts in the History of the Early Gāṅga kings of Kalinga:—

1. The Devendravarma of the Gara inscription was Rajaraja III (Saka 1120-1133) of the family of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Orissa.
2. The Devendravarma of the Drākshārāma temple inscription (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1239) was the Gāṅga ruler Kāmārṇava V (Saka 943-44). He fought and

1. That he ruled only for a half-year shows that he had a premature death. It may be that he died fighting with the Cholas.

2. With regard to the identification of *Trikaliṅga* see E.I. Vol. XXIII, No. 11, p. 69. wherein Prof. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. accepts my identification of it.

died in his attempt to ward off the Chola army led by Pallava *alias* Pānduva-Raju, the commander under Rajendra Chola the grandfather of Madhurāntaki, the wife of Kulottunga Chola. The country under the Gangas of Kalinga at this time (cir. 943) included Kosala (*Trikalinga*) and the country east of it to the coast and Mahendra hill on which are engraved the two inscriptions (*Sanskrit* and *Tamil* M.E.R. 1899, Nos. 396-397) formed the boundary of the Odḍa country.

In conclusion, I shall say this:—

I identified the donors of the undermentioned copper-plate grants with some of the kings given in the genealogy of the Ganga rulers whose periods synchronised with the years of the charters obtained by calculating their dates from Saka 271 which was the initial year of the Ganga era.¹ At that time I did not examine if the surnames also agreed. That omission is now supplied in the remarks column. In this attempt I found out that, though the date of the Kambakāya grant as expounded by me (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. X) fell in the period of Vajrabasta III yet the surname Devendravarma of the donor of the grant does not tally with the surname, Anantavarma, that Vajrabasta III gets according to the reckoning shown in the list. I think my exposition of the date of that grant is faulty. I propose to examine it again and write, on a future occasion regarding my conclusion thereon.

(i) Chicacole plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇava dated 526 Ganga era.

(ii) Mandasa plates of Anantavarmadeva, Saka 913.

(iii) The date of the Kambakāya copper-plate grant of Devendravarma (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. X, p. 116 ff).

1. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IX, p. 398 ff; Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 272 ff.

**List of the Early Ganga Kings showing their periods
in Saka year and their Surnames.**

No.	Name.	Anka Years.	Actual Years.	Period in Saka Years.	Surname.	Remarks.
1	Kāmārṇava I ...	36	30	700—729	Devendra- varma.	
2	Dānārṇava ...	40	33	729—761	Ananta- varma	Father of Madhukāmārṇava below (No. 3).
3	Kāmārṇava II ...	50	41	761—801	Devendra- varma	Madhukāmārṇava, Chicacole C.P. date 526 Ganga. Devendra- dravarma, Santa Bomali C.P. date 520 Ganga.
4	Ranārṇava ...	5	4	801—804	Ananta- varma.	
5	Vajrahasta II ...	15	13	804—816	Devendra- varma.	
6	Kāmārṇava III ...	19	16	816—831	Ananta- varma.	
7	Guṇārṇava II ...	27	22	831—852	Devendra- varma.	
8	Vajrahasta III ...	44	36	852—887	Ananta- varma	*
9	Gundama I ...	3	2	887—888	Devendra- varma.	
10	Kāmārṇava IV ...	34	28	888—915	Ananta- varma.	Anantavarma, Mandasa plates Saka 913 ¹
11	Viṇayāditya ...	3	2	915—916	Devendra- varma	
12	Vajrahasta IV ...	35	29	916—943	Ananta- varma.	
13	Kāmārṇava V ...	½	½	943—944	Devendra- varma.	Died fighting with the Cholas. ³
14	Gundama II ...	3	2	944—945	Ananta- varma.	
15	Madhu- Kāmārṇava VI.	19	16	945—960	Devendra- varma.	
16	Vajrahasta V ...	33	...	960	Ananta- varma.	Crowned (Vizagapatam plates I.A. June ¹ 1889, No. 178.
17	Rajarāja I ...	8	Devendra- varma.	
18	Chodaganga	999	Ananta- Varma.	Crowned (Ibid.)

1. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVIII, p. 272 ff.

2. Ibid., Vol. XVII, Parts II-III, p. 173 ff.

3. See above.

* The date of the Kambakāya C. P. as read and interpreted by me falls in this period, but the donor is Devendravarma while Vajrahasta III gets the surname Anantavarma. The method of giving surnames cannot be wrong as all other donors of charters synchronize correctly. Therefore I take that the fault is in the reading or interpretation of the chronogram expressing the year of the Kambakāya C.P. (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. X, p. 116 ff).

4. Periods of Nos. 16, 17 and 18 are not given as there is some discrepancy seen in the statements made in the copper-plate charters.

A NOTE.

When I first prepared the list of the Later Ganga kings for my 'Review of Santa Bomali copper-plate Grant of Nandavarma' (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. III, p. 75 ff)—a copy of the same is added to this theme, I did not notice a discrepancy in the list prepared according to the genealogies given in the copper-plate charters of Anantavarma Chodaganga and of his grandfather Vajrahasta V. Now, while studying the C. P. of Saka Samvat 1043 (I. A. June 1889, p. 179) it struck me that a great mistake was made in the periods of Kāmārṇava I and his brother Dānārṇava. The inscription says, "Having decorated his younger brother Dānārṇava with the necklace (*kanṭhika*) (of royalty as a token that he should succeed him in that kingdom).....and thus for 36 years he governed the Kalinga countries.....Of him Kāmārṇava I the younger brother, Dānārṇava (l. 59) reigned for forty years. Decorating with a *Kanṭhika* is to endow him with the royalty of Yuvaraja (S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 49 note). Of the 40 years assigned to Dānārṇava, his position as Yuvaraja was for 36 years (the period of Kāmārṇava I) and four years were of his independent rule. If it is not calculated so, and considered that he ruled for 40 years after the 36 years of reign of Kāmārṇava I, he would be an old imbecile of about 100 years of age unfit to control the kingdom at such unsettled and troublous times. Even accepting that he was made *Yuvarāja* at the age of 17 like Rama, the son of Dasaratha, Dānārṇava would be aged 53 years by the close of Kāmārṇava I's kingship. He would be 93 years old at the time of death and that is a very ripe age for a king of Kalinga. So the periods of reign of these two kings should be corrected as follows:—

Vizagapatam Plates.

The Nadagam Plates.

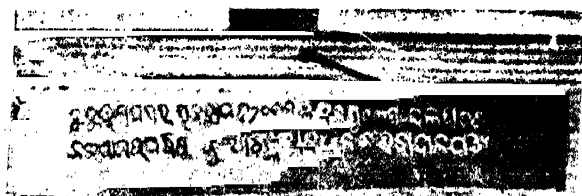
No.	Name.	Anka Years.	Actuals.	Period in Saka Years.	Anka	Actuals.	Period in Saka Years.	
1	Kāmārṇava I ...	36	30	740—776	36	30	728—758	
2	Dānārṇava	4	3	776—779	4	3	758—761	Anantavarma, father of Kāmārṇava II

**Gunupur Copper-plate grant of Chandramala
Mahadevi of Jeypore.**

*Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagadeb Rajah Bahadur,
Puratahvavisarad, Vidyavachaspati, Member,
Indian Historical Records Commission,
Rajah Saheb, Tekkali.*

This Copper-plate is not a very old one. We got it from Approdu Santhra, an inhabitant of Jeypore and got a photo of it taken. The grant conveyed by this single Copper-plate consisted of some portion of the land of Erdupur Village in the Gunupur circle, Jeypore Zamindary (Orissa). It was granted by Srimathi Rāni Chandramala Mahadevi of Jeypore to one Karunakar poricha in the year 1862 A.D. Both sides of the plate bear the inscription in Oriya script and language. The inscription is still quite clear and there are not many mistakes in the language used. The name of the inscriber is not to be found in the plate. On the front side of the plate, two lines of the subject matter were written and continued on the second side. The last two lines were written on the front side reversing the plate. These last lines contain the name of the grantor and a euka from Vyasageetha with the initials of the grantor. We find such initials in the Jeypore grants.

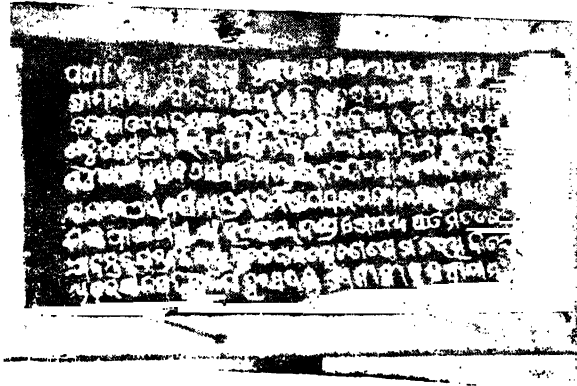
Readings of the Copper-plate Grant.



The first side of the Copper-plate.

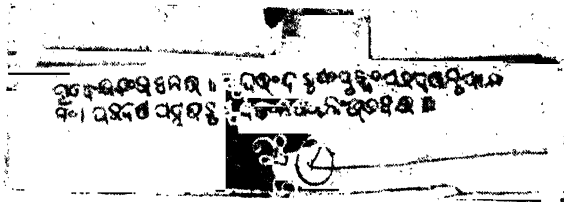
- (१) दुम्बुमिनामसम्बत्सर तूल २० दिने कार्तिक शु १३ मङ्गलवारे
- (२) करुणकरपरिच्छाकु अज्ञा अवधानकरिवा दानपटा

The Second side of the Copper-plate.



- (३) पटानिर्णय एदिन गुणुपुरु फरगणा आम्भ इन्दुपुर
- (४) ग्रामसम्बन्धसान पाटीयाभूमि भूवन्धसातगडिसादान
- (५) कलुये एथकु सन्धि पूर्वकुराहगडपाटि आभूमिसन्धिदक्षी
- (६) णकु जगमण्डाविलसन्धि पश्चिमकु जामपाटि आसन्धि उत्तरकु
- (७) वाटि आगाडसन्धि एसन्धि सीमान्तरे दानकरि आज्ञाभवधानक
- (८) लु [इ] ये एसन्धिसीमान्त गळमाळपदरपङ्कालनिधिनखात
- (९) काष्ठपाषाणछाया उपछाया (१) गोपथसमेतरे
- (१०) यावन्तचन्दाकीन्त \times स्तकेदानभोगे भोगकरुथिवूये
- (११) थिरे आन अवधाननाहि सादिकु श्रीश्रीश्री चन्द्रवालाम

Topsy-turvy lines on the first side of the Copper-plate.



- (१२) हादेईङ्गर सनत्त, स्वदत्तद्विगुणं पुण्यं वरदत्तानुपा
- (१३) लनं, परदत्तापहरणं [च] स्वदत्तं निष्कलभवेत्

Brief Translation of the Grant.

Rani Chandramala Mahadevi of Jeypore has given a land capable of producing seven garses of paddy to Karunakara poricha,

in the Village of Endupur, in the Gunupur circle of the Jeypore Zamindari in the year 1862 A. D. on the Dundhuvinama Samvachara (Barahaspatty year), the 20th day of tula (Solar month) Thrayodasi, Tuesday, the 13th day of the bright-night of the lunar month of karthika, He may utilise the trees, fish, dry lands, mines, woods etc. so long as the Sun and Moon exist, without any objection. Mahadevi's acceptance sloka from Vyasageetha. Boundaries:—

East:—Land of Rayagada.

South:—Lands called Jagomanda.

West:—Land called Jamopatliuya.

North:—Bund of the Cannal.

Note:—Raja Ramachandra Deb II of Jeypore had two wives (Ranis) named Padmamala and Chitramala. It is presumed that this Chitramala had a second name as 'Chandramala' It was this lady who made the grant in 1862 A. D. to Karunakara poricha, after the death of her husband who ruled Jeypore from 1781 to 1825 A.D.

*** A new Copper-plate Inscription of the Eastern
Chalukyan dynasty mentioning Bhima III (926 A.D.)**

By Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.)

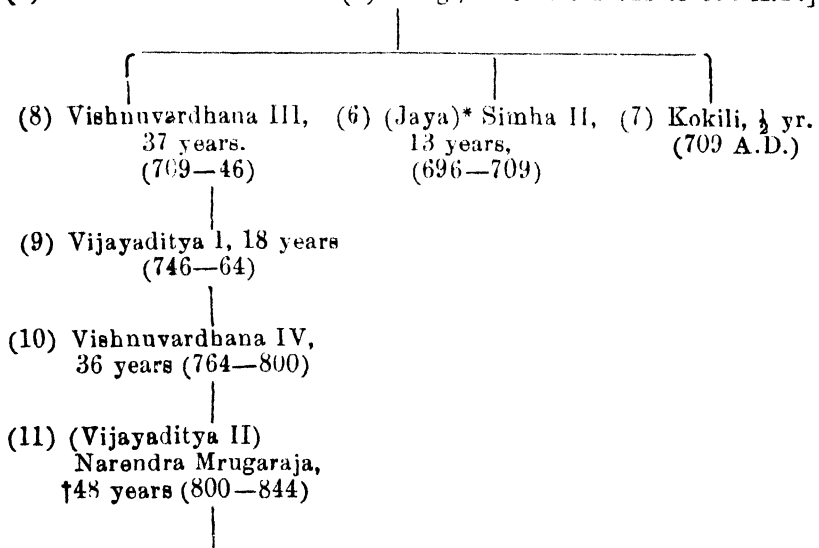
1. *History of the Plate:* This one plate was handed over to me by a Kshatriya ryot of Bhimavaram, W. Godavari District several years ago, but as it is the central plate in a set and as the other plates are not found, I waited so long but in vain. It contains writing on both sides at the rate of 8 lines on each side. The Language is Sanskrit but the Alphabet is Telugu of 10th C.A.D. The length of the plate is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches and the breadth $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Its rims are raised so as to protect the writing which is in a state of good preservation except in 2 or 3 places where it is rust-eaten. It contains a hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the left rim through which a ring passes to hold the plates and its two ends are soldered into a Seal containing the usual E. Chalukyan Symbols like Elephant goad (Ankuśa), Crescent (Ardha-Chandra) Lotus (Padma) and the legend "Sri Tribhuvanainkuśa." In this case, the ring with seal and the two outer cover plates are missing with the result that the opening Prāśasti (family history) and the Grant—portion as well as the names of the Donor and Donee are not forthcoming. However, so far as it goes, it gives the names and regnal periods of 15 kings that ruled over Vengidesa from (Jaya)simha (II) the 6th king in the List (696–709 A.D.) to Bhima (III) the 20th king who ascended the throne in 926 A.D. The qualities of head and heart as well as the activities of 3 successive kings, viz., (1) Chalukya Bhima, the 14th king, (2) his son Vijayaditya, the 15th king and (3) his grandson Amma, the 16th king are graphically described. Another noteworthy point mentioned in this inscription is that the 16th king's younger son Bhima (III), 20th in the list, is said to have killed the 19th king Vikramaditya II and obtained

*A paper read before the 9th Session of Indian History Congress held at Chidambaram in Dec. 1945. As the Estampages of the Inscription are not printed and as there are several mistakes in the published article (*Vide* pages 105 to 108, Proc. of the Congress) it has been found necessary to republish it here with Plates.

the E. Chalukyan throne. This fact is not mentioned in most inscriptions. Many usurpations had taken place, the throne of Vengi being tossed about between the main and collateral E. Chalukyan dynasties often with the help of the then neighbouring dynasties like the Rashtrakutas, W. Chalukyas, W. Gangas, and Cholas. Vengi consequently suffered worst ruin from foreign invasions and internal feuds.

The following genealogy and chronology provided by this inscription will be found useful to students of history. To suit the information given in several plates of this dynasty, the period of one king as given here, *viz.*, of (1) Vijayaditya II Narendra Mrugaraja (48 years) is cut down to 44 years. Some inscriptions even state that he ruled only for 40 years. Except for this and for the recognition of Bhima (III) as king, the whole Genealogy and Chronology may be accepted as correct and usual.

[(1) Kubjavishnuvardhana I, (2) Jayasimha I, (3) Indra Raja, (4) Vishnuvardhana II and (5) Mangi, ruled from 615 to 696 A.D.]



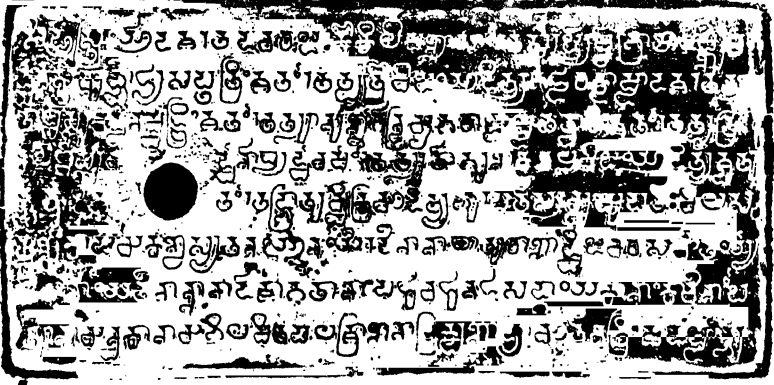
- (12) **Vishnuvardhana V
 $\frac{1}{2}$ year (844)
- (13) Vijayaditya III, 44 years (844—888) Vikramaditya I Yuddhamalla I
- (14) Chalukya Bhima I 20 years (888—918) (18) Talapa I, 1 month (925)
- (15) Vijayaditya IV, $\frac{1}{2}$ year ((918) (19) Vikramaditya II 11 months (925—26)
- (16) Amma I, 7 years (918—25) (Bhima II. Not mentioned in this Inscr.)
- (17) Vijayaditya V 925 (20) Bhima III (Ruled for 8 months after killing Vikramaditya II.) (I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 214).
- (He is given a fortnight in some inscrr.) [I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 249.]

** The chronology is arranged from the date of accession of Amma Raja II, the son of Bhima II, in Dec. 945 A.D. That king's Charter was published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, p. 245.

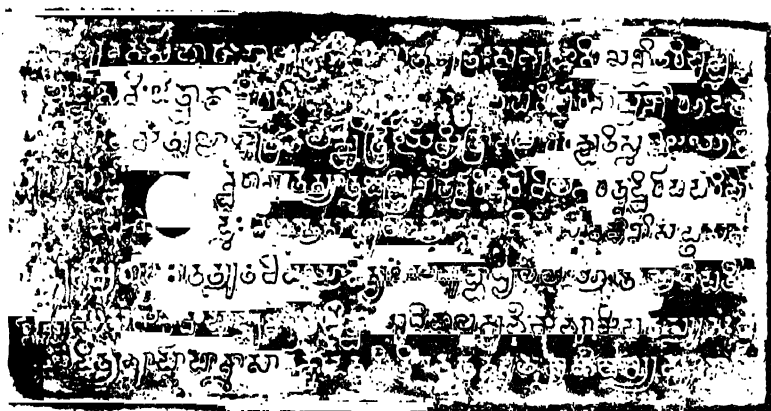
Transliteration of the Inscription.

[Text from Original Plate given to Society's Museum.]

Plate II, Side 1.



1. (Jaya) sinha strayōdaśa tadavarajah Kokili shaṇmāsān tasya
jyēshṭho bhrātā Viṣṇuva
2. rddhana stam ucebhāṭya sapta trimśitam tatputrō Vijayāditya
Bhaṭṭarakōshṭādaśa tatsu
3. tō Viṣṇuvarddhana sheṣaṭtriṁ śatam tatsūnur ṇNarēndramrga
Rājōshṭa chatvāriṁ śatam tatputrah
4. Kali Viṣṇuvarddhanōḷyarddha varsham tatsutō Guṇakai Nalla
Vijayādityaśchatu
5. śchatvāriṁśatam tadbhrātur vVikramāditya bhūpates samṛam-
patēh vilasa
6. tkaṇṭhikādhāma kaṇṭhasya tanayō mayē dīnānāthāturaṇām
dvijavara samitēryyā
7. chakānām yatinān nānādeśāgatānām, paṭuvaṭu naṭa sad
gāyakānām kāvinām pa
8. nthvānām andhakānām abhilashita phalaśrāṇanā drakshaṇā
dyōmātēva trimśadabdān bhu



1. *vamabhūnagasō ebāru Chālukya Bhīmah tatputrah svabhu
jāsi khaṇḍita ripukshmaḥbhu*
2. *tulādāsa viṇ jītvāsāviraya pratāpādhi yāsachapadiptō raṇēs-
varṇna rūdatu*
3. *lātra jādāmatu lōkātratal akshatriyairmmitrābharpari raksha-
tisma Vijayādi*
4. *tya ssamārddhanvarān tasyātmajar prajāta vairi sirōvilagna
ratna dvirēphā parichu*
5. *mbita pādapadmah, merunasainstulita hāṭakarāsī bhāsā varshāṇi
sapta sama*
6. *pādbbhūv Ammarājah, tatsuta Vijayādityaṁ bāla muchchāṭya
lilayā Tālādhipatirū*
7. *kramya māsamēka mapādbbhuvam, tamjītvāyudhi Chālukya
Bhima bhūmipatōssutah Vi*
8. *kramādityabhūpōpān māsānēkādaśa kshitim, tatastut Amma
Bhimākhyah hatva pro*

Brief Translation.

(Jaya) Simha ruled for 13 years; his younger brother Kokili 6 months; his elder brother Vishnuvardhana overthrowing him ruled for 37 years; then, his son Vijayaditya Bhattaraka 18 years; his son Vishnuvardhana 36 years; his son Narendra Mrugaraja 48 years; his son Kali Vishnuvardhana $\frac{1}{2}$ year; his son Gunakai Nalla Vijayaditya 44 years; then his brother Vikramaditya, having fallen in battle, his (Vikramaditya's) son called Chalukya Bhima led. This benevolent Chālukya Bhima I* ruled the earth for 30 years like a second mother as he provided the desired lands and food to the downfallen, helpless, needy, bachelor—pupils, actors, singers, maimed, blind, assemblies of learned Brahmanas, beggars, ascetics and wanderers. His son, Vijayaditya (IV) ruled for half an year having cut to pieces by his own sword his kingly foes in battles. Having spread his fame in all quarters on account of his prowess which resembles that of sun, he weighed himself against gold and protected the earth against the Akshatriya (low-minded) rulers. His son Ammaraja (I) ruled for 7 years. His lotus feet were kissed by the beelike Jems set forth in the crowns of his bowing enemy kings. He was shinning with the gold heap which resembled the Meru (gold) mountain. After throwing out his infant son Vijayaditya (V) very easily, king Tala or Tada occupied by force the throne for a month only. By conquering him in battle, Chalukya Bhima Rājah's son, Vikramaditya (II) ruled over the earth for 11 months. *After killing him, Amma's son, Bhima (III) ruled.*

*He is described as having had a shining Kanthika or necklet as a garland round his neck. Vijayaditya V is also called in another inscription as Kanthika Beta Vijayaditya.

Some Telugu Prose Inscriptions of Vengi Chalukyas

by M. Upendra Sarma, M.A.

*Head of the Department of Oriental Languages
Hindu College, Guntur.*

Chalukyas and their Origin:—

The Chalukyas, according to Bilhana's Vikramankadeva Charitra, were descendants of a mighty warrior who sprang from Brahma's Chuluka¹. On one occasion, when Brahma was engaged in his morning prayers, Devendra approached him with a complaint about the sinfulness of the world where no person performed the Vedic sacrifices etc. Then Brahma looked at his Chuluka from which a Veerapurusha sprang. He became the progenitor of the Chalukya race.

In the family of this Purusha, two warriors were born; Harita and Manaviya. These two heroes were responsible for raising the Chalukya family to great fame.

The Chalukyas, as stated in the opening lines of all their copper-plate grants, belonged, to the Manaviya gotra and descended from the line of Harita. They obtained from Gods a flag with boar represented on it known as 'Varāha-Dhwaja'.

Ayodhya was the Original seat of the Chalukya Dynasty and after some time a branch of it established itself in the South by separating itself from the main One.

The first prince who raised the family to fame in the South was 'Jaya Simha'. He won many a battle and justified his name. He was succeeded by his son 'Ranaraga' who was in his turn succeeded by Pulakesin I. After this king, 'Kirti Varma' ascended the throne, who handed it over to his brother Mangalesa. Pulakesin II succeeded Mangalesa. Pulakesin II was the most powerful of the kings of this dynasty. He conquered many countries. Yuan-chwang came to India in his reign and was impressed by his achievements.

1. *Vide The Early History of the Dekkan* by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Pulakesin II placed his brother Kubja Vishnu Varddhana in charge of the districts of Satara and Pandaripur. His administration of the districts was very successful. As a result of it he was sent to Vengi² as the representative of Pulakesin II. Kubja Vishnu Varddhana asserted his independence and established the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty³. A large number of inscriptions are available to the students of history.

Kubja Vishnu Varddhana (615-633) extended his empire from Vengi (near present Ellore) to Vizagapatam District. He was succeeded by his son Jayasimha (633-663). His empire extended upto Nellore. Jayasimha's brother Vishnu Bhattaraka next came to the throne and reigned for seven days. He was succeeded by Vishnu Vardhana II who was succeeded by his brother Mangi Dugaraja.

He is titled as Sarvalokaśraya and Vijayasiddi. Then came to the throne in successive succession the members of the same royal family who by order are Jayasimha II (696-709), Kokkili Raja, Vishnu Varddhana III, and Vijayaditya II⁴. This king was the most distinguished of the Eastern Chalukyas. He was the first to assume the title 'Maharajādhiraja', 'Parameswara' and 'Paramabbattaraka'. He constructed one hundred and eight siva temples. He was succeeded by 'Vishnu Vardhana III', who was succeeded by 'Ganaka Vizayaditya'. Then came to the throne 'Chalukya Bhima', Vizayaditya IV, and Ammaraja Vishnu Vardhana in whose time the capital was changed from Vengi to Rajahmundry. His successors were 'Vizayaditya V,' Talaraja; 'Vikramaditya', 'Bhima III' Yuddnamalla II, 'Chalukya Bhima Vishnu Vardhana, Ammaraja Vizayaditya', 'Danarnava', 'Saktivarman', 'Vimaladitya', and 'Raja Raja Narendra', the patron of Nannaya bhatta, the great Telugu poet.

The Eastern Chalukyan kings were the first patrons of the Telugu language. Unlike their predecessors, these Kings used Telugu language for all Official and academical purposes. The

2. The Early History of the Dekkan.

3. Raja Raja Narendra Samchika published by A. H. R. Society.

4. Sir C. R. Reddi Commemoration Volume, Part I, page 35.

Chalukyan kings identified themselves with the people and their language. This statement is borne out by the fact that it is only after the advent of the Chalukyas that the Telugu language had the fortune of being used in the Royal records in the form of inscriptions.

The first available Telugu prose inscription that we come across is that of Jayasimha, the second in the time of Mangi Dugaraja, the third belongs to the reign of Vishnu Vardhana III, and the fourth to Chalukya Bhima. The fifth inscription of Telugu prose belongs to the reign of Ganaka Vizayaditya, known to be a great mathematician of his time. The sixth, seventh, eighth and the ninth belong to the reigns of Yuddhamalla, Vimaladitya, Vimaladitya (the same) and Raja Rajanarendra, respectively.

Previous to the Eastern Chalukyas, all the inscriptions found in Andhra country were in prakrit and sanskrit; for instance, Salankayana inscriptions were in Prakrit and Sanskrit and Satavahana and early Pallava inscriptions were in Prakrit*.

For purposes of analysis, the regnal period of the Eastern Chalukya kings can be divided into two divisions. Each can be taken to consist of two hundred years roughly. It is enough if we cite a few inscriptions from both the divisions.

Let us take up Jayasimha's inscription. This inscription tells us that Jayasimha gave the Village 'Vithparthy' to Mlavindi kings⁵, who helped him in his wars.

This contains more Telugu words like Enumbody (ఎంబొది), Thatithota (తాటితోట) Icciri (ఇచ్చిరి) than Sanskrit ones.

Even in this inscription Telugu words like Doga (డొగ) etc. are more in numbers. Baranasi (బారనాసి) and of its like show the relationship between the Prakrit words and Sanskrit words used then. The language is exactly like the language of Lakshmi-puraśāsanaṃ (లక్ష్మీపురశాసనం). These Sasanams show that there

5. Bhārata kavita Vimarsanam.

6. J. A. H. R. S. Volume XIII, Parts III & IV.

are a number of Sanskrit words still in the Telugu Sasanams. The early Sasanams contain more of Sanskrit and Prakrit words than of later Sasanams. (Inscriptions).

In the later dated Sasanams like Addanki Sasana, there is prose as well as poetry. This is also a Dana Sasana which tells about some charity that is given to Adityabhattacharaka in Dharmapuri.

The language in these Sasanams is very easy to understand. The *tatsama* and the long Sanskrit compounds are not found as in early ones. There are more of native or 'Desya' words. By this time, the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit is at a low ebb making Prof. Keith responsible to remark that pre-Nannaya period is noteworthy for the decadence of Sanskrit and development of Vernaculars.

Flowery style in Telugu with *Tatsamas* has come into use by this time. Nannaya's Sanskrit style is the out-come of this practice.

All these later Sasanams namely Addanki, Dharmavaram, and Chalukya Bhima's Sasanam contain this style and language which is full of Sanskrit-Telugu expressions.

The inscriptions show a gradual development upto the eleventh century of prose as well as poetry. For the purpose of analysis this period can be taken to consist roughly of four hundred years which again fall into four divisions of hundred years each. For purposes of illustration it is enough if we cite from both the divisions.

In the beginning of this period, Telugu language seeks the help of Prakrit to make itself expressive. That help is given by Prakrit. Later on, the Telugu language is seen to be trying to stand on its own legs without the regular support of Prakrit, thereby becoming self-reliant.

The later Inscriptions are a definite improvement on the former ones with regard to the proportion of Telugu words employed in them. Here, the language is seen to have been used as the vehicle for the thought which is expressed in poetry.

This is not of a crude form but polished with clear-cut metrical regularity. It need hardly be said that the prose inscriptions of this period are as well-written as those in poetry. It is a literary truth that the language perfect in poetic form will be equally perfect in prose form. On the contrary it may be said that it is at its best in poetic prose, prose which rises to the level of poetry in thought and beauty of language but which does not follow the rules of metre.⁷ Sentences from Yuddhamalla's Inscription⁸, Eduvadalapalepu Inscription⁹ Ranasthapudi Inscription of Vimaladitya and¹⁰ Raja Raja's Nandampudi Inscription can be quoted but to have a knowledge of the full texts, the sources are given below.

The last of the later inscriptions, we can say, is that of Raja Raja's Nandampudi Sasanam. Most of the scholars think that the Eastern Chalukya dynasty was extinct with Raja Rajanarendra and then the Chola-Chalukya dynasty began with Kulottunga Cholaadeva son of Rajavishnuvardhana.

The sentences of some Inscriptions which belong to the centuries before Nannaya, Raja Raja's court poet, show that prakrit influence over telugu language was gradually cast off. The presence of sanskrit is not a substitute for prakrit. It is a part of Telugu language, being one of its elements known as tatsama (తత్సమ), i.e., sanskrit absorbed into Telugu. This is a combination into which Telugu does not blush to enter and this is a happy harmony which has enriched the telugu language and which continues ever since to be so.

In sanskrit compositions there is apparent difference between singular and plural. Those compositions, when imitated, influenced telugu to observe the same grammatical peculiarity namely using the plural termination 'lu' with its prefixes etc. Bishop Caldwell in his Comparative grammar of Dravidian idiom used the same

7. Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika Volume VI pages 49 to 88.

8. Andhra Patrika daily dated 2-10-1922 and Raja Raja Narendra Sanchika.

9. Epigraphica Indica Volume VI page 347.

10. " " " IV

noun-form to denote the plural as well as the singular and the meaning has to be understood from the context of other accessories. In inscription No. 384, of 1904 we have Rendu totalu, Munnuru Nela (మన్నురు నేల), iccinadi—No. 405 of 1904 has iccinadi tudlu nelayu nokka gānugu (నొక్క గానుగు). In these two inscriptions the singular “iccinadi” has been used with two nouns plural and singular connected by ‘and’. Correctly it ought to be ‘iccinavi’. This agreement between the noun and the adjective in number in the modern usage must have resulted from the influence of sanskrit conception of number.

“Paraganga Bezawada Gomara Sāmiki Bhakhedie Gudiyu nirupamaty Nrupadhamudettinchi negi deerchi Maṭhamu.”¹¹

In this inscription the casual form ‘ettinchi’ (ఎత్తించి) is employed. This shows that causal forms were frequently used by the scribes of the inscriptions.

The Telugu literature prior to 1022—1063 is available through the copper-plate and stone inscriptions like those mentioned above. Telugu language then existing was different from the colloquial language of today. As most of the sasanas, as we observed in the previous pages, were Dana-sasanas (records of gifts of villages, (Agraharas) and movable and immovable properties, the names of the donors and the names of the gifts were their chief content). The sentences used in the above inscriptions were all simple and straight. It must be admitted that the telugu language not only obtained so many sanskrit words to its fold but has borrowed some grammatical forms. Hence it is rightly said that the influence of sanskrit grammar is immense over the Telugu grammar. Nannaya, according to some scholars, the author of Sabda Chintamani, (a telugu grammar), has written all the rules of grammar in sanskrit language and wrote Telugu verse imitating the sanskrit verse in metre and in vocabulary also.

To show that there is something in the structure and texture of Telugu and its relationship with other Dravidian languages inspite

11 Yuddhamlla's Sasanam—Saraswata Vyasamulu.

of the great influence of the Sanskrit over Telugu, the following example is enough. About 8th or 9th century the plural nominative suffix 'lu' was frequently used in inscriptions. It has come from the suffix 'kal' which belongs to the Dravidian stock.¹² It is accepted on all hands that 'kal' was existing as a suffix denoting plural number in the primitive Dravidian family.

The use of 'Imchi' (ఇంచీ) suffix, a casual form, was already in vogue. Hence, we have so many of these casual forms like 'Kattimchina' (కట్టింఱిస) Ettimchina (ఎత్తింఱిస).

In this way the inscriptional compositions were full of prose with these casual forms and the following few characteristics namely 'the expression of the present and past actions by participles or appellative nouns; the use of a few post positions to indicate the relationship between ideas or persons; the ideas of identity and of being, are most often left unexpressed and had to be filled in by the imagination of the readers.'

In conclusion it can be said that the prose style in inscriptions is somewhat crude. There are some words like manāṇḍum (మనాణ్డుం) where the Purnānuswara or Ardhānuswara is Superfluous or unnecessary. The ardhānuswara has no significance phonetically because the pronunciation remains unchanged even if it is dropped.

Some words have lost their original meaning and are used in a different sense. This is called "Semantics or Science of meaning" in philology. ex: kode (కోడె) etc., the male calf of a cow. Prose has its own advantage over poetry whether it is in sasanams or elsewhere because it conveys the full implications of the ideas. This is true with regard to the inscriptional prose also.

In conclusion, we can say that both in inflectional form and style, the Telugu words have gradual development during the regnal periods of the Chalukyas of Vengi. Thanks to the patronage of the Rulers of Vengi, every phase of Andhra literature had its due share.

12. Journal of Andhra History and Culture.

Aryakshatriyas – A Brief History of the Community

By K. Satyanarayana Varma.

Among Andhras, Arya-Kshatriyas are one who mainly followed wood-carving and painting as their communal profession. In the Telugu Districts these people are called in different names, *viz.* Chitrakars—Nakashulu—Rajus—and Muchis. It is a backward and minority community with respectable origin. Most of the community belongs to the Sivite faith and the rest of the people of the community are Vishnavites. This change in creed produces no difference as they can eat and marry together, the wife as usual adopting the religion of the husband. Panditaradhyas and Vaishnavacharyas are their religious Gurus. Births, Marriages and Funerals are attended by the local Vaideeka Brahmans. They undergo the Upanayanam—the thread ceremony—and they wear Lingam which is conferred upon them with *upadesa* by Aradhya Gurus. They got ‘Gotrams’ from the names of the sages ‘Kasyapa, Sevunakasa, Kousika’ etc. and as Andhras they belong to the Apasthambha Sutra and Yajus Sakha. These are the customs of the community which are in force up to this day. Just like the four vedic castes as Brahmans and others, this community also gets its own historical and puranic evidences as to the origin of their caste and customs. The main history of this community is clearly given in the celebrated Brahmanda Purana. According to the original script in Sanskrit the gist of the story runs as follows: –

2. Janumandal, a rakshasa, being proud of the boon granted to him by Brahma, the Creator, went on injuring Devas. The all powerful Siva, being prayed to by Brahma and other Devas, in a fit of anger towards the Rakshasa, instantaneously created a Kshatriya called Mukta Rushi from his right-hand. The great warrior Mukta Rushi according to the orders of Siva killed Janumandala and maintained peace and order in the world. Mouktika after being married to the daughter of the sage Durvasa asked Siva about the future of his generation. Lord Siva granted vedic ceremonies and duties to be performed from their birth following the traditions of sages without the least alliance with the kshatriyas created by Brahma. As they were created from the hands of

Hara Himself, he asked them to call themselves as Arya Kshatriyas. Siva further asked them to follow sculpture and painting as their communal profession and to please Devas and Maharajahs with their skill in the art.

3. As to the creation of Mukta Rashi, the original Purana says:—

On hearing the reports of injuries done to the Devas, Siva's eyes were reddened with anger and his forehead was filled with drops of sweat. He immediately collected the sweat with his right-hand which took the form of a pearl (which is called Mouktika in Sanskrit) and struck it on the earth. Instantaneously the Sage was created. As the Sage was born out of the Mouktika or pearl, he was named as Mukta Rashi. Hence his generation is named as the Mouktika Community. In the Telugu language the Monklikam is called as Muchyam. So, as times passed on, the term Mouktikas had to take the form of Muktas or Muchis in the local tongue of the present day. As these people were created by Hara or Siva himself it is certain that they are saivites. Since the times of Ramannuja, along with the other castes, some of the people of this community also followed vaishnavism.

4. As to the name of the community as Arya Kshatriya, the original Purana clarifies as follows:—

Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are the three forms of one and the same Almighty which is a Universally accepted Axiom. The four vedic castes, Brahmans etc. are created from the face, hands, legs and feet respectively of Brahma. So, as a creation from the hands of Siva or Hara who is one of the forms of the Almighty, the community is called as Arya Kshatriyas just like the term Arya Vaisyas—It is to be noted that the term Arya Kshatriyas also was in force from the time immemorial. In addition just like the Vaisyas who are otherwise called as Arya Vaisyas and Komatis, the Kshatriyas are called as Rajus, the Sudras as Kapus, the Arya Kshatriyas or the Muktas as Muchis in the local tongue.

5. In a story in the famous compilation called 'Kathka Sarith-sagaram' written by Soma Deva Batta of Kashmir in the 12th

Century the term 'Mouktika' was used to mean a painter and sculptor. So it is evident that the term Mouktika was a well-known term in the Northern India used for a painter or a sculptor during the times of the above author.

6. A complete chapter called 'Mouktikōpākhyānam' was written by Mahā Mahōpādhyaya Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantuln-Garu in his Bilweswareeyam, which, according to his preface, was a translation into Telugu of a Tamil (Dravidian Kruti) work called Bilva Ramayanam. In this book also the story runs in the same version as in the above Purana with a slight alteration. It is said that after the death of the Rakshasa Janumandala, his wife cursed Muktamuni that his generation should be deprived of his caste as Kshatriyas and they should follow sculpture and painting and be called Chitrakaras.

7. According to the original Purana 'Mukta Muni' received blessings from the Goddess 'Nimushamba' which is a form of the 'Maha Sakti' to bring him victories in his fight with 'Durgasura' and other Rakshasas. Even to this day these people worship 'Nimushamba' as their communal Goddess and hence the name Nimushamba which is quite familiar among these people.

8. To sum up all the above Puranic evidences, we can say that the Muktas or Muchis are Arya Kshatriyas following Vedic ceremonies and customs and having sculpture and painting as their communal profession.

9. The extracts from the inscription written on copper in the year 1802-03 about the Chitrakara Community with the signature of 'Rayasam Sami Pille,' the then Munsiff and several other Pundits, preserved in the Temple of 'Ekambareswara' of Kanchi also justify the above evidences.

10. The identity of the above histories with the present day community was admitted by Sree Sankaracharya of Sringeri in his order given to that effect in 1895 at Dummugudem Camp during the travel of His Holiness in Andhra Desa.

11. The following extract from the 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India' by E. Thurston, under the headings Chitrakara, Muchi and Rachavars also justifies the above evidences:—

.....“ In the Tanjore Manuals it is noted that the Rachavars were descendants of immigrants from the Telugu Country, who apparently followed the Nayak Viceroys of Vijayanagar Empire in the 16th Century. They are more or less jealous of the purity of their caste. Their language is Telugu. They wear the sacred thread. In the city of Madras and other places in Tamil country, the Rachavars are called Rajus or Muchis, *who must not be confused with the Muchis of Mysore and the Ceded Districts who are shoe-makers, and speak Marathi*. In the Telugu Country there are two distinct Sections of Rachavars namely Saivites and Vaishnavites. The Saivite Rachavars in the Krishna District style themselves as Arya Kshatriyas, but they are commonly called Nakashvandlu, which is a Hindustani synonym of Chitrakara.”..... ..(Vol. VI, P. S. Page 237, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, G. E. Thurston, C. I. E.)

12. According to the information gathered by Thurston, several communities in different districts are known by the same term Muchi. But under the Heading Muchi, he clarifies the Muchi community of the Telugu Districts as follows:—

.....“The term Muchi is applied to two entirely different sects of people. In Mysore and parts of the Ceded Districts it refers to Marathi speaking workers in leather. *But it is further applied to Telugu speaking people called Rajus, or Chitrakaras who are mainly engaged in painting, making toys etc. and not in leather works.*” (See *Rachavaru*)..... ..

In addition to this, the manuals of different Telugu districts and of Tanjore also support the above statements.

13. The term Muchi further applies to a post in the offices of the Government as well as Zamindars. The duties of an office—Muchi have been summed up as to mend pencils, prepare ink, stitch note-books, paste covers, rule forms, dispatch tappals, bind books and keep the stationery etc. The Government and some

of the Zamindars of the Andhra Desa granted Service Inams to some people of this community to serve as painters and to do the necessary yearly repairs for the idols in the temples. Even to this day there are some people who are serving as such.

Famous Arts developed by the Community.

14. The World-Famous Hand-made, Toy-makers of *Konlapalli*, (Krishna District), belong to this community. The glorious skill of wood-sculpture, presented in many a temple of *Andhra Desa* by these people appears afresh even to this day. They developed the art as a cottage industry. They used to prepare colours out of raw materials which were far superior in quality to the modern paints imported from the West. They know how to prepare fine brushes with goat's hair, with which they are capable even to write letters like a fine pen. With these hand-made implements they could produce finest possible forms of *Lord Siva* and *Vishnu* in innumerable ways. They know how to prepare many kinds of varnishes. They used to prepare a kind of varnish called "*Gunna*" which gives a golden appearance when applied on a silvery surface. Finest gold and silver leaves were prepared by hand by these people. In good olden days, the Maharajahs used to cover their food with these gold leaves before dining. They had a special skill in preparing the round play cards *Dasavatari* which is an old famous play.

15. A race which developed many arts as their communal profession, a community having a brilliant chapter in Andhra wood-sculpture and painting had to live behind the curtain since several decades due to lack of patronage. A large number of the community settled in the Central Provinces as officials in some of the departments of the Government and in some local Concerns. These people had to lose their Mother-Country and tongue and migrate.

16. In addition to these arts, some of the families followed Indian Medicine as hereditary profession and earned name and fame in that branch. Some of the people as *Scholars* and *Poets* contributed their might to the *Andhra Literature*.

17. During the early periods of the present century not less than two hundred families used to live upon this profession in historic Kondapalli of Krishna District. Now-a-days many people had to give up this profession as it did not pay. As times passed on, the imports of toys and pictures from Japan and other countries flooded the Indian houses and hence both the people and the professionals had to part with their beloved arts. In Andhra Districts only two or three families per town or village remained to this day and became a minority community.

18. Late Viswa Data K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu Garu once visited Kondapalli and observed the lamentable plight of the Andhra Art and a sister community. He organised a committee on co-operative basis to promote the Art on business lines for whose love of Art and enterprise the community ever pays its profound gratefulness to late Pantulu Garu. We hear that the same organisation was being run (till 1939) under the kind patronage of Ex-Parliamentary Chief Secretary, A. Kaleswara Rao Pantulu Garu and Mrs. T. Rajeswaramma for whose spirit of nationalism we are ever grateful.

19. We further appeal to the Andhra public to give due attention and whole-hearted co-operation to the cause of the revival and uplift of a decayed Andhra Art and to a community that developed many arts as their communal profession.

" Paaladas " of the Asokan Edicts

By Diwan Bahadur T. Bhujanga Rao, M.A., B.L.

Three Asokan Rock Edicts, found respectively in (1) Girnar in Guzerat, (2) Kalsi in the lower Himalayas, west of Mussoorie, and (3) Shahbazgarhi north-east of Peshawar, state that, within the limits of Asoka's empire, various tribes were conforming to the king's "instruction in morality". The names of two of the tribes are coupled together in the Edicts. One of them is the tribe of Andhas or Andhras, later generally known as Āndhras (with an elongation of the vowel in the first syllable). The other tribe has been respectively referred to as "Paarimudas," "Paaladas" and "Palidas" in the three several Edicts. The question of the identity of this latter tribe has led to differences of opinion amongst scholars.

Dr. Buhler equated this latter tribe with the Pulindas, relying on the form of the name in the first *i.e.*, the Girnar Edict. Pulindas are generally referred to as savages in the old Sanskrit works. But in some places, especially in the Narmada Valley, some of the Pulindas had become civilized and had cities and kings, as is referred to in the Digvijaya sections of the Sabha Parva in the Mahābhārata. It is thus not impossible that the reference in the Edicts was to the Pulindas. But the chief difficulty in accepting Dr. Buhler's theory is that it is not quite in accord with the forms of the name of the tribe given in the other two Edicts. So the theory has not found acceptance with scholars like Dr. Hultzsch.

Mr. Sathianathaier of the Annamalai University has recently advanced another theory. He thinks that the reference in the Edicts was to the Pallavas of Thondaimandalam (*i. e.*, the Kanchi area). His theory no doubt fits in with the forms of the name of the tribe as given in the Kalsi and Shahbazgarhi Edicts. But there are three difficulties in the way of accepting Mr. Sathianathaier's theory. The first is that it does not easily fit in with the form of "Paarimudas" found in the Girnar Edict. The second is that no Asokan Edicts have been discovered in Thondaimandalam up to

now and the existing evidence about its having been a part of the Asokan Kingdom is so scanty and unacceptable that scholars like Vincent Smith have excluded Thondaimandalam from Mauryan Empire. The third is that, though Thondaimandalam may have been included in the Mauryan Empire, there is no satisfactory evidence that the Pallavas existed in Thondaimandalam as a race or tribe in Asoka's day. In fact, several scholars are of opinion that the Pallavas merely founded a kingdom in the Kanchi area and constituted the ruling dynasty in Thondaimandalam. It is said that they emigrated thither subsequent to Asoka's day but did not form a part of the indigenous Tamil population of Thondaimandalam. It is also said by some scholars that the Pallavas of Kanchi were merely Pahlavas of the West Coast who, in Thondaimandalam, chose to take the Sanskrit name of Pallavas.

There, however, seems to be room for a third theory with reference to the identity of the tribe referred to in the Asokan Edicts. In the "*Harivamsa*" there is reference to a tribe known as the Paaradas (Skt. पार दः). The tribe is said to be a Mlecha tribe (*i.e.*, speaking a language not known in India and hence unintelligible.) The members of the tribe are said to be warriors (Kshatriyas) but without a study of the Veda or an observance of the (Aryan) Dharma. They are said to differ from the Mlecha tribe of Pahlavas by not wearing beards like the Pahlavas. There is also a reference in Chapter 52 of the Sabha Parva in the Mahabharata to these Paaradas. It seems to the present writer that there are reasons to hold that these "Paaradas" were early Parthian settlers in India, and that the reference in the Asokan Edicts is probably to these "Paaradas".

The article on Persia in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th edition, Vol. 17, p. 566) shows that the Persian name for Parthians was "Parthavas", a name which can easily take the corrupt form of "Paaradas" in India. The same article shows (at p. 578) that originally the Parthians did not wear beards. As in the "*Harivamsa*", the "Paaradas" are described as martial non-Aryans who did not wear beards, it looks very probable that the "Paaradas" were the early Parthian settlers in India.

That the reference in the Asokan Edicts was to these early Parthian settlers seems to find support from philological considerations. The word "Paaradas" seems certainly to suit the forms "Paaladas" and "Palidas" found in the Edicts. Further, the article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica already referred to shows (at p. 578) that the most important of the Parthian tribes, in fact the ruling tribe, was known as "Parni". It is therefore likely that the Parthians were also known as "Parnivas" in India—a name that would take the corrupt form first of "Paarinvās" and then of "Paarimdas" so that "Paaradas" of the "Harivamsa" may well be the "Paarimdas" of the Girnar Edict.

There are some other considerations also which make it probable that the Asokan Edicts refer to the early Parthian settlers. These Parthians, who must have come in the early days of the Parthian period in Persian history if not earlier must have lost their old Zoroastrian moorings and must have become not merely domiciled Indians but people liable to conversion to the faiths existing in their new environment. Asoka's Empire comprised the whole of India except some portions in the extreme south of India. So the early Parthian settlers (who are not known to South Indian History) must have been citizens of the kingdom of Asoka; and there would be nothing surprising therefore in their "conforming to the king's morality" and adopting the Buddhist faith (like the Andhras). The Andhras occupied the country to the south of the Vindhya. The early Parthian settlers, considering the country of their origin, must have settled in Konkan and other parts of Western India and have been the neighbours of the Andhras. This probably throws light on why the two races or tribes were coupled together in the Edicts.

It may be noticed that the present writer has referred to the "Paaradas" as early Parthian settlers, as if there were later settlers from Parthia. Undoubtedly there were such later settlers; and they are known in Ancient Indian History as the Pahlavas. The "Harivamsa" refers to the Pahlavas as wearing beards; and hence they must have come to India after the wearing of beards became the rule in Parthia (*i. e.*, during the Sassanian period of

Persian history). That they were Parthians is suggested by their very name, for, as stated in the article already referred to on Persia in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (at p. 578), the "Palhavi" language is merely the language of the Parthians. The Pahlavas were also known in India as Pahnavaś (as stated by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao in his work "*Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*"). This is significant, as showing that the name of the original ruling clan amongst the Parthians was either given to or adopted by both the early and the later Parthian settlers in India. It may be here added that it is not impossible that after the downfall of the Andhra Empire, some of the later Pahlavas emigrated to Thondaimandalam and founded a kingdom there and were known as Pallavas, adopting Sanskrit surnames such as "Varman" and issuing charters and grants in Sanskrit and Prakrit in the Tamil country of Thondaimandalam.

INDIAN PLACE-NAMES—

A Plea for starting an Indian Place-Name Society.

By K. Iswara Dutt, D.A.

Study in India.

The study of place-names is a neglected part of Indian History and our Country has yet to cultivate its research. Except for an occasional mention of the derivation of the place-names and their history in the course of their vast writings on this subject, Indian Historians have not made any serious study of the subject.

Study on the Continent.

A complete linguistic survey of Norwegian topographical names was begun in 1896. Sweden followed in 1905, and Denmark in 1910. The importance of the work in each of these countries being recognised, financial support from the State was extended. England as usual followed the continent and was a bit late in the field. The English Place-name Society dates its official existence from an address delivered to the British Academy on 26 1-1921 by Professor Allen Mawer and the Cambridge University Press published the researches of the Society in 1924 and the Society grew in strength. Likewise it is respectfully urged that a Place-name Society for India may be started under the auspices of the Indian History Congress and the Scholars from the linguistic areas may be selected for making a study of the same. Best results will be obtained by the collaboration of those skilled in many branches of knowledge, languages in Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam, Ancient Indian History, Archaeology, Topography etc.

Material for the study of Place-names.

There is abundant harvest for the study in the Sthala-purāṇams, Mahātmyams in Skandapurāṇa, the ancient South Indian Inscriptions, the local tradition which can be obtained from the

oldest inhabitants who are on their last legs and whose knowledge perishes with them. Thus, no country possesses a greater harvest of material than India in this respect; labourers are numerous but they have not taken to the cultivation of the fertile field.

Origin of Place-names in Andhra Country.

(i) The great majority of place-names contain a word denoting a village or homestead or town, 'Palli', Uru', 'Varam'; Vāda, Pattanam, Kurti.

(ii) Some take the name of the river on which they are built up Ex: (1) Krishnapuram on the river Krishna; (2) Hampi on the river Pampa; (3) Hagari on the river Hagari; (4) Yeleswaram on the stream 'Yeleru'.

(iii) Some assume the names of the hills by the side of which they are built Ex: (1) Sresaila n by the side of that great Saiva pilgrimage centre; (2) Mangalgiri by the side of that great Vaishnava pilgrimage centre.

(iv) Some names are descriptive, Ex: Sanganakal. The name of the village by the side of Sanganakal (hillock resembling Peacock).

(v) Some take the name formed by the significant part played in ancient trade by being on the Coastal region. Ex:

(1) Vadarevu, the ancient odarevu (place where ships halt).

(vi) Most of the names take the name of Gods, whether Saivite or Vaishnavite, who were installed by ancient kings.

(vii) Some ancient names were sanskritised by the Aryans after the occupation of the Country thus: Dakiremi became Daksharama.

(viii) Again the names of villages or towns had the origin in the name of the founders *i.e.*, Chennapatnam etc.

(ix) Certain names have lost their Indian forms by strange formation, Ex: (1) Varanasi became Benares. (2) Kalighat became Calcutta. (3) The name Madraspatam became Madras, patam or

patnam being deleted. (4) Even the Railway Companies have changed the names by adopting the English pronunciation.

Rajamahendravarum became Rajahmundry.

Srikakollam became Chicacole etc.

The same complaint was laid by an English writer on the English Railway companies who altered the names to suit their conveniences etc.

Thus, language, religion, topography, tradition and history etc. have played their part in shaping the names of the villages and it will be an interesting subject to study.

Traditional Origin of 'Pandava Metta' and Nookalamma Temple.

By S. R. N. M. Achuta Ramraju.

According to certain tradition, the Pandavas, accompanied by their beloved consort, Droupadi, halted for some months on the hillock, situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Payakaraopeta, near Tunni, and the hillock has been called after the great puranic heroes, bearing the name of 'Pandava Metta', some traces of their stay being noticeable to this day. To commemorate this important episode, Sree Rajah Nallaparaju Venkata Krishna Raju Bahadur Varu secured the services of a great Gujarati Brahmin, named Kesava Dutt, in 1782 and got the wooden images of the Pandavas carved by him and installed them on the said hillock. Besides this, the same Krishnam Raju Bahadur of the Mirja family, distinguished himself as a devotee and patron of religious deeds by getting himself a very handsome image of the goddess of Nookalamma brought and installed near Tunni. A nice temple with a decent compound wall was constructed by him to house and enshrine the goddess.

BOOK-REVIEWS.

(1) Gondhali Nrutya.

गोंडली नृत्य

There is a book called गोंडली नृत्य in the valuable library belonging to Mr. Narayana Rao Thite. (थिटे—being the family name.)

In the Skanda Purana, there is a Section called Satyadri Khanda, containing 40 chapters, the 34th of which is called गोंडली नृत्य.

The Book appears new--It is $6\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$. It is written on both sides of the paper, with just a margin of $\frac{1}{2}''$ at the top and $\frac{1}{2}''$ at the bottom. It contains an average of 14 or 15 lines per page and there are 30 letters per line.

गोंडली नृत्य = गोंधळ. It is a custom prevalent among several Maharashtra families especially on occasions of performing upanayanam or marriage—to please the शुद्ध देवता.

The chief Deity to be pleased is रेणुका देवी.

It is observed chiefly by the people belonging to जामदग्निवत्स गोत्र, for the last 300 or 350 years.

In the 32nd sloka, the author says it is a relic of Karnatic customs. Does it then point to the fact that it is a Canarese (or Karnataka) ritual borrowed by the Maharashtrians?

The book is a description of the details regarding the celebration of a Gondhala.

It is specially auspicious to have it in the सर्वतीर्थ in the month of चैत्र (and so on, a Thirtha is mentioned for every month of the year). After taking the Holy Bath in the Thirtha, we have to give various gifts (दानं) and perform the necessary श्राद्ध. Brahmins and Sumangilis have to be sumptuously fed. Then, on the auspicious day, with दिवटी in hand, the Gondhala is to begin.

All the people in the place are to be invited—including the Devas and Rakshasas.

The chief requisites are :—Lamps (or दिवटी) Garlands, Mathru Vadya मातृवाद्य; Tāla (ताल) वंशवाद्य (Something like our flute) Mridangam, त्रिवल्ली; Veena; चंडक; मुरज; etc.

In the *best form*, we must have at least 32 people; (to play the musical instruments, to sing, to dance etc); Four are the chief songsters; 4 ordinary songsters; four Dancers; 4 for playing on the flute and other instruments (made of bamboos); 4 for the Mridangam; and 4 for looking after the Tālam.

In the *average* performance, we should have at least 16 men; but even in the *poorest* performance there should not be less than 8 men. A place 4 yards long and 4 yards broad should be set apart for the dancers. (usually East to West).

The best times for the performance are 4 A. M.; 9 P. M.; and 2 P. M. Then we have elaborate descriptions of the places where the various actors are to stand; how they ought to handle the lamps etc. Then, there is a description of *Nada Brahma* as a dialogue between Siva and Parvati. There, Sangita is called the Fifth Upaveda. Finally, *Nadalina* (नादलीना) is called Brahma, Iswari, Parasakti and Janardhana. Thus ends the Book.

In the 1860 Edition of Skanda Purana, we don't have this chapter. There, the 40th chapter is Renuka Mahatmya; the 34th chapter is Jamadagni Vadha. Some 14 manuscripts were collated in bringing out that Edition. More research work is needed to elucidate this point.

Many people are familiar with the Gondhala but the importance of this book consists in the fact that it gives a very minute and accurate description of all the details connected with this practice and describes its Mahatmyam in a manner never to be found elsewhere.

PROF. N. R. KEDARI RAO.

Note By Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao.

As a Tanjore Maharashtrian, I am familiar with this Gondhala practice from my childhood. My father used to speak of it in glowing terms—especially as we belong to the Jama/agni Vatsa Gotra. The first time I saw it (of which I have a clear recollection) was in Kumbakonam in 1912. Advertised to begin at 9 P.M., it began at 10-30 P. M. and continued till early morning.

About 10 people would have taken part in it.

The Gondhalis all hail from Tanjore even to-day. In 1938 December I celebrated my niece's marriage and again we had a Gondhala at Tanjore with 8 people.

The cost of a Gondhala will be Rs. 25 at least. Of course the richer people can pay more.

Along with the orthodox account, the Gondhala is becoming a popular entertainment also—popular ballads, satirical songs etc. are sung by the Gondhalis. Playing to the gallery, they please the audience and are rewarded materially too.

I remember vividly a poem in honour of the late Sir V. P. Madhava Rao (Dewan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda) being sung by these Gondhalis.

बडोदा मैसूर मलयाळि केले दिवान् गिरि etc.

Another favourite theme of the Gondhalis is the quarrel between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in a Hindu household. Similarly, folk-songs about the rivalry between Tanjore and Trichinopoly are also rendered pleasingly (with appropriate gestures) by the Gondhalis.

out the differences between the Hebraic and Christian doctrines on the one hand, and the Islamic on the other. This Sura belongs to the First Mekka—Period. This reveals the original contribution of the prophet in so far as his conception of God is concerned. The second article is on the Diphthongs in Syroarabic by J. Vilencik. He enunciates and illustrates the law that 'au' and 'ai' are reduced to 'u' and 'i' respectively, while in double or conjunct consonants they become in all probability 'a'. The third article is on the Persian words in Arabic Stories, by Gustav von Grunebaum. It reveals the influence of Persian on Arabic poets and throws special light on the cultural problems of the two countries. A. Procope-Walter's article on the records and engravings of Asia Minor is a brilliant study in architecture. H. S. Nyberg's essay on the Pronunciation of Arabic words in Egypt deals succinctly with the Egyptian accent which is expiratory. He illustrates his formula with copious examples taken from nouns and prepositions especially. Next he deals with the question of Pause or caesura. Harris Birkeland once again raises the question of the authorship of the Book of Jeremiah. It is an exhaustive account touching also the probable interpolations in the text. Nyberg in a second article makes an illuminating study on the history of Iranian verbal inflexion.

Judging from some articles which were carefully gone through, the Journal is well brought forth. The standard is pretty high. It is promoting the cause of studies in Hebrew, Arabic and Persian. It is mainly preoccupied with philological problems, which will serve to advance the studies well. Such a work is a welcome addition to the field of letters.

P. S. Sastri.

(5) **A Book Review.**

The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress—Studies in the Relations between Asia and Eur—America. [The book was known as 'The Futurism of Young Asia'] by Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. (Cal.) Published by Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. Calcutta (1939). Rs. 7/-.

This book describes how Europe and America treated Asia as inferior to them in political and cultural respects and how, for the first time, in 1905 Japan, by defeating Russia in a war showed to the world that Asia also could successfully challenge European countries. Also, in the military and scientific fields, Japan made big strides and established the truth that Asia could equal if not excel Eur-America. Luckily, this is being recognised now all over the world.

The book is a collection of essays and lectures given by the Author before certain American Universities and Paris Art Societies and published in American and Indian Journals also. Therefore, it is admittedly disconnected and scrappy though instructive and thought—provoking. The author has done real service to scholars all over the world by writing out such beautiful Chapters on “Tendencies in Hindu Culture and Young India” (1905–21) and the Appendix “Young India in Exact Science” (1915–21) and giving a general survey of events in Science, Art and Social development in the general countries visited by him.

It is a mine of interesting information on all aspects of human life in the contemporary world and as such should be given a place in all College and University Libraries.

R. S. R.

(6) **The Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala, Poona.**
Kesava Pandita's Dandaniti (Criminal Jurisprudence.)

By V. S. Bendrey, 1943; Price: Rs. 8/-

By carefully editing and presenting Kesava Panditha's *Dandaniti*, Mr. V. S. Bendrey has done a great service to the circle of scholars connected with the Mahratta Period. This hitherto little-known work is now published with a fitting introduction of the Editor. He has brought the importance of the present work to the period under consideration by a clear exposition of the social and political background of the seventeenth century Mahratta Country. Students of the Mahratta administration under Sivaji and his immediate successors should be grateful to this Editor for his valuable work which should find a place in the Libraries of all cultural institutions.

A. N. R.

(7) **Palni—The Sacred Hill of Muruga**

By J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L.

[With a translation of “Tiru-Murugarruppadai published by Sri Dandayuthapani Swami, Devasthanam, Palni, 1941.]

This Hill Shrine of Muruga or Subramanya is widely known for its *mahima* and usefulness. It is said that a Chera of Kerala built it, but later Pandyas, the Nayaks and others extended it. The author has described Palni and its history as well as the glory of the Temple, with the help of Sthala Puranas, Mc Kenzie records and Inscriptions. Appendix I, Tiru-Murugarruppadai, enhances the value of the book. The 9 Art plates and 26 Illustrations and the 9 Appendices greatly add to the interest and beauty. Considering the cheapness of the book (As. 12 only), every one must have a copy.

R. S. R.

(8) **Five Tamil Idylls of Paththup-Pattu being Studies and Translations.**

[With a Prefatory Note—Published by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L. Price one Rupee.]

The author is well-known for his several writings on religious Topics.

The Book contains, from able hands, an account of the five gems of Ancient Tamil Literature, which were nurtured by the 3 great Sangams that flourished thousands of years ago at Madura. Pattup-Pattu holds the first place for its poetic beauty and art and literature. The chief features of human life beautifully described in the work deals with essence of philosophy, though displayed in human exploits. Every scholar and every library should have this collection of Ancient Tamil classics and we congratulate the authors and publishers for producing such good works.

R. S. R.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1945-46.

The managing council of the Society begs to submit the following report of the work done during the year 1945-46.

The office-bearers for the year 1945-46 are as follows:—

President:

Sri N. Kameswa Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.

Vice-President:

Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao Garu, M.A., L.T., M.E.S.

Hon. Secretary:

Sri M. A. Reddi Garu, M.A., L. L. B.

Hon. Treasurer:

Sri K. J. Gopala Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.

Hon. Librarian:

Sri D. Sambasiva Rao Garu.

Managing Council:

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.

Sri Rebbapragada Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.

Sri Devata Ramamohan Rao B.A.

Sri Jayanti Gangauna, B.A., L.T.

Members:—The number of members and subscribers on the rolls for the current year is 140. With regard to subscribers, we are glad to state, that almost all the Universities in India have been subscribers to our valuable journal. Seventy journals are on our exchange list. Owing to non-receipt of foreign journals and periodicals, due to war conditions, we are not able to increase our list of exchanges. Since the war is over and we are returning to normal times, we hope to get more exchanges than before.

Finances:—As usual, the Rajahmundry Municipality gave us a grant of Rs. 100/-. With regard to the Government grant, we requested the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, to treat the amount, spent on the publication of the A. H. R. S. Journal, in exchange for which we are getting several periodicals and journals for the Free-reading room and library, as money spent for the purchase of books for the library, but the Government was not pleased to comply with our request. We have to move about the matter once again. During the current year, the president of our Society, Sri. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu garu, Dr. Lanka Sundaram,

Editor of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, and Sri Rajah Vadrevu Venkappa Rao Bahadur, have become Life-members of the Society by paying Rs. 100/- each. Our hearty thanks are due to them. We appeal to the rich and public-spirited gentlemen to become life-members and to give liberal donations.

Journal:—During the year, the first instalment of Parts II, III and IV of Volume XIV have been issued in a combined volume and we hope to publish the other parts shortly.

Reddi Sanchika:—It is long overdue. It is rather regrettable that we are not yet able to publish it. During the year the managing council met seven times to transact business. Two public meetings were held under the auspices of the A. H. R. Society, when resolutions were passed urging the government not to transfer the Nagarjuna-Konda relics and Antiquities to any other place out side the present area. The Director of Archaeology is pleased to give us an assurance that no removal is contemplated.

Other Activities:—To the Indian History Congress held at Annamalainagar, Chidambaram in December last, we deputed the Vice-President, Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao Garu M.A., L.T. and he read two valuable papers at the Conference. He also exhibited several copper-plates, gold coins and Firmans at the Historical exhibition.

We are glad to state that during the last Christmas holidays, we invited the Maharajah of Vijayanagar to our Society and showed him round the library and museum. The Maharajah was pleased with the work done by the Society and promised to help the Society. It is better to collect funds even from now for the purpose of constructing a building. We have got a precious museum and fine library and they require a building to house them properly.

A word with regard to the Vijayanagar Empire Day Celebrations. We are bent upon celebrating the function during the forth-coming Easter holidays, i.e., on 9th, 10th and 11th, May. Due notice will be given to the members and the general public. We request all lovers of Vijayanagar History to wholeheartedly co-operate with the Society and make the function a success.

M. A. REDDI, M.A., LL.B.,
Hon. Secretary.
 3-4-1946.

**REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN
FOR THE YEAR 1945-46.**

Printing of the library catalogue and housing the library properly was the programme drafted by me last year. Even though the war ended, still the effects associated with it are not in our favour. We could not add any new almyrahs to our library and without housing the books properly, the facility created by an up-to-date printed catalogue will not be of much use. Ours is a growing library and new books and Journals are being added every year.

Our Secretary, Mr. M. A. Reddi and our Vice-president Mr. R. Subba Rao were of great help in discharging my duties and it is they that really worked much for the improvement of the Society in general and our library in particular. This year we added 25 books and 200 journals to our library. The average of daily visitors to our Free-reading room and library is twenty.

The Maharaja of Vijayanagar and many other well-known gentlemen visited our library and were much pleased with the library and the collection of rare coins and copper-plates in our museum.

We hope that in the coming years our library will be developed and that it will be visited and utilised by the general public in greater degree and that sufficient patronage will be forthcoming.

D. SAMBASIVA RAO,
Hon. Librarian,
3-4-1946.

Andhra Historical Research

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

RECEIPTS	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
TO OPENING BALANCE :						
Cash on Hand ...	13	7	7			
Cash at Banks:						
Andhra Bank Ltd., Savings Account ...	790	3	3			
Aryapuram Co-Operative Urban Bank Ltd. ...	72	7	0			
Post Office Savings Bank ...	12	15	0			
				889	1	4
„ Subscriptions ...				342	10	0
„ Contributions from Associations etc. ...				41	8	0
„ Donations ...				350	0	0
„ Sale of Publications ...				146	4	0
„ Interest on Deposits in Bank Accounts ...				8	0	3
„ Loans Borrowed from Sri R. K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur ...				250	0	0
„ Advances Recovered :						
Peon ...	34	0	0			
Hon. Treasurer on the Account of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao ..	4	0	0			
				38	0	0
Total ...				2,065	7	7

RAJAHMUNDRY, }
12th May 1946. }

K. JAGANNADHA RAO,
GOPAL RAO, B.A., B.L.,
Hon. Treasurer.

Society, Rajahmundry.

for the year ending 31st March, 1946.

DISBURSEMENTS		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
By Salary to Peon	...				174	0	0
„ Rent and Lighting	...				143	6	0
„ Travelling	...				80	1	0
„ Postage	...				19	9	6
„ Type Charges	...				3	7	0
„ Cost of drawing paper	...				11	6	0
„ Cost of Printing Paper etc.	...				99	1	5
„ Printing charges	...				203	0	0
„ Audit fees	...				10	0	0
„ Miscellaneous	...				3	14	0
„ Membership Fee for Indian History Congress	...				10	0	0
„ Advance to Peon	...				22	0	0
„ Loans Discharged to Sri R. K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur	...				790	0	0
„ CLOSING BALANCE :							
Cash on Hand	...	16	11	5			
Postage	...	2	3	3			
Cash at Banks :							
Andhra Bank Ltd., Savings Account	...	389	7	3			
Aryapuram Co-Operative Urban Bank Ltd.	...	74	2	3			
Post Office Savings Bank	...	13	1	6			
					495	10	8
Total	...				2,065	7	7

M. A. REDDI,

Hon. Secretary.

1945-'46.

AUDIT REPORT.

I have examined the above Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ending 31—4—1946 with the accounts and records relating thereto and I certify that the same is correct subject to the following remarks:—

1. No stock account is said to have been maintained in respect of the Society's Publications.

2. Loans borrowed: Rs. 240/- was payable by the Society to Sri R. K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur at the commencement of the year. This was paid on 5—4—1945. Subsequently sums aggregating to Rs. 250/- were borrowed and they were also repaid. It is said that the above loans carried no interest.

V. B. R. SARMA,

Registered Accountant,

12—5—1946.

EXCHANGES.

1. Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Cocanada.
2. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.
3. Epigraphia Indica, New Dehli.
4. Andhra Mahila, Madras.
5. Ananda Vani, Madras.
6. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
7. Jaina Gazette, Ajitasaramam, Lucknow.
8. Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
9. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
10. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
11. Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
12. Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
13. Journal of the Historical Society, Exchange Buildings, Bombay.
14. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
15. Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.
16. Bharati, Madras.
17. Journal of the United Provinces Research Society, Lucknow.
18. Andhra Silpi, No. 10, Narasingapuram, Street, Mount Road, Madras.
19. Journal of the Bombay University, Bombay.
20. Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Bangalore.
21. Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir.
22. Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Society, Trichur.
23. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
24. Maha Bodhi, 4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
25. Sodha Patrika, Udayapur, Rajaputana.
26. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
27. Journal of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
28. Annual Report & Memoirs of the Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
29. Grihalakshmi, Madras.
30. Annual Report of Archaeological Dept., Govt. of India, New Delhi.
31. Annual Report of Archaeological Department of Travancore, Trivandrum.
32. Annual Report of Smithsonian Society, Washington, U.S.A.
33. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
34. Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal, 314, Sadasiyepet, Poona.
35. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
36. Report of Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Gwalior.
37. Archaeological Memoirs—Art and History, 3 et 5 Rue De Petit-Port, Paris V.
38. Prabudha Karnataka, Dharwar.
39. Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Banares.
40. Ann. Bibliography, Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.
41. Report of the Director of Archaeology, Baroda State.
42. Annual Bulletin of Nagpur University, Nagpur.
43. Rajasthan Bharati, Bikanir.
44. Bulletin of the School of the Oriental Studies—London University.
45. Le Monde Oriental, Upsala, Sweden.
46. Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
47. Bulletin of the Deccan College and Research Institute, Poona 1.
48. "University of Ceylon Review", Colombo, Ceylon.
49. Journal of Andhra History and Culture, Guntur.
50. Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
51. Bulletin of Musée Guimet, 6 Place de Léva, Paris 16, France.
52. Publications of K. C. Rani Itihasa Mandal, Bailhongal District, Belgaum.
53. Karnata Sangestam, Coimbatore.
54. Poona Orientalist, Poona 2.
55. Vijayavani, Belwada.

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Annual General Body Meeting held in April 1946

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